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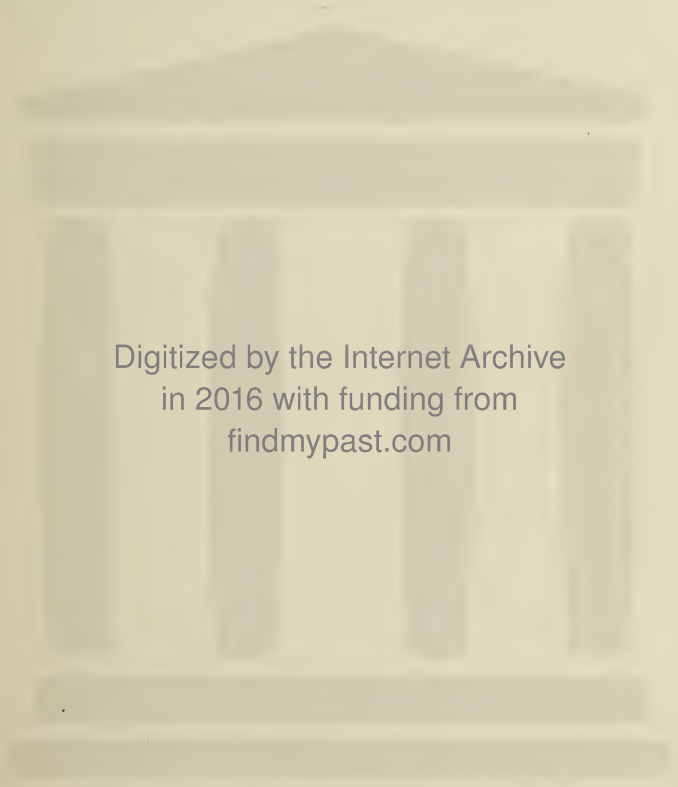
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THE NOTORIOUS COLONEL WILKINS*

BY COLTON STORM

THE Illinois country during the British régime suffered the misfortune of having foisted upon it a series of inept, dishonest, or grasping military commandants. Among them were Captain Thomas Stirling, Major Robert Farmar, and Lieutenant Colonel John Reed. By far the least satisfactory commandant was the most interesting scoundrel of the lot, Lieutenant Colonel John Wilkins. He was such an appalling rascal that his exploits leave the investigator gasping with surprise at each new turn. I have no intention of detailing all of Colonel Wilkins' crimes here, nor of treating his misdemeanors at great length. The story of his crimes will some day receive the full treatment it deserves. What I would like to do now is to sketch a few of the high lights of Wilkins' career in Illinois and rescue his reputation a little by recounting some of his dealings with the Indians who visited Fort Chartres.

The information I bring you about Colonel Wilkins and his adventures comes almost exclusively from the papers of Lieutenant General Thomas Gage, British commander-in-chief in America from 1763 to 1775. These papers are now the property of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. They are wonderfully rich in original material relating to the Old Northwest. The papers comprise about 21,000 letters and documents and seventeen large boxes of vouchers and warrants.

Thomas Gage came to America late in 1754 as lieutenant

* This paper was read at the forty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, in Peoria, on October 4, 1946.

colonel of the 44th Regiment under General Braddock. He led the advance detachment on the march toward Fort Duquesne and was wounded in the famous rout. During the subsequent French and Indian War, Gage rose to the rank of major general and acted for three years as Governor of Canada. In 1763 Lord Jeffrey Amherst returned to Britain and the command of all troops in America devolved on Gage who established his headquarters in New York. Peace had been made with France but not with the Indians. Gage sent two expeditions to settle Pontiac's rebellion, but he re-established only two of the nine posts which had fallen to the red men. In 1765 he finally got troops into Fort Chartres on the Mississippi. He divided his command into three districts—northern, western, and southern—with a brigadier in command of each.¹

It is Gage's western district and his commandant that interest us here. There is no adequate biography of General Gage, as yet, although one is being written by a competent young man in Nebraska. But there is no lack of material about Gage. John Wilkins is another story. There is almost as little about Wilkins as there is much about Gage. My personal fascination with Wilkins' career in the Illinois country has prevented me from tracing his career farther back toward its origins than his arrival in America. This paper is a kind of preliminary report on a work in progress.

Wilkins came to this country about 1758 with the 55th Regiment of Foot, in which he held a captaincy. In 1775, he told Gage that he had been in the army for twenty-seven years. That means he was in the army from about 1748 on. He first appears in the *Army List*, published by the War Office, in 1755, where he is noted as a lieutenant in the 32d Regiment with commission dated 1754. A little more than a year later he had secured his captaincy and the following year the 57th Regiment was renamed the 55th. In 1758, the regiment came

¹ Howard H. Peckham, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library* (Ann Arbor, 1942), pp. 83-84 recounts this in more detail.

to America. There was no further change in Wilkins' rank until 1762 when, on June 9, he received his commission as major in the 60th (Royal American) Regiment. Three years later he purchased a company and became a lieutenant colonel in the 18th (Royal Irish) Regiment. This was the rank he held until he retired, or sold his company, in 1776.

In 1762 and 1763, Wilkins was stationed at Fort Niagara. When the village of Detroit was threatened by Pontiac and his followers, Wilkins tried to send an expedition from Fort Niagara to rescue the troops at Detroit. He was unsuccessful. In 1763, Lord Amherst, then commander-in-chief in America and colonel of the 60th Regiment, recalled Wilkins to New York. Late in the same year, Amherst left the colonies and Thomas Gage succeeded to his command. Gage's experiences before becoming commander-in-chief gave him an excellent understanding of the problems of administering military posts in America. He also had close contacts with Indians and knew and understood the difficulties of dealing with them. Wilkins' experiences at Fort Niagara provided him with the same kind of knowledge. The two men had excellent backgrounds for the work they were about to perform, but where Wilkins trained himself for the skulduggery in which he wallowed later, I do not know. In 1765, as I have said, Wilkins purchased a company in the 18th Regiment—which was scheduled for American service. In 1767, he went to Ireland and brought back part of the regiment, landing at Philadelphia on July 11. Gage was in the process of moving the 34th Regiment out of his western department and moving the 18th Regiment into their places for more than a year. Finally, on May 25, 1768, Wilkins received Gage's instructions for his tour of duty at Fort Chartres and in the Illinois country.

Gage's instructions to Wilkins are very interesting on several counts. They do not seem to have been published, but they will be some day. Two points in the instructions are especially important. Colonel Wilkins has been sharply criticized for

establishing civil courts in Illinois without proper authority. I do not suggest that Wilkins did not try to use the courts he erected for his own mean ends, but I do suggest that Wilkins thought he had authority to establish the courts and he thought that authority came directly from Gage. But judge for yourselves. Here is what General Gage wrote:

As disputes must frequently happen between the Inhabitants, which it may be difficult to have decided, thro' the want of proper Courts of Justice; I would Recommend it to You, to Establish a kind of Sessions, of such People whom You shall Appoint in each Settlement for the purpose: You might Select a Number of the most Intelligent People, and of the best Characters, to whom You might give Commissions of the Peace, who would not only be usefull, in Seeing the Regulations You shall be obliged to make, Published & duly Observed, but likewise keep up Order, amongst the rest of the Inhabitants, and being Assembled at Stated Times, they may decide in a Summary way, according to their own laws & Customs, differences and Disputes between the People.²

The second point about Gage's instructions is the matter of trade and English traders. Wilkins was ordered to observe the French traders' activities with extreme care, not only because the "foreigners" might be poaching on English preserves, trading with both the Indians and the whites, but because they were inclined to foment trouble between the Indians and the British. They were to be stopped, wrote Gage, "by every Method in our Power" from coming into His Majesty's territory. In addition, the instructions contained very clear orders that collusion between any groups of traders to import goods of French manufacture should be prevented. Indeed, all persons trading without express permission from the British authorities, and all persons (with or without permission) trading in any manner except that prescribed by the British, should be prevented from operating. To Wilkins, those instructions sounded like official, veiled permission to enter into a contract with one of the trading companies, about which I shall write later.

Trouble—including debts—was just about all Wilkins

² Thomas Gage to John Wilkins, May 25, 1768, Gage Papers, American Series (MSS in the William L. Clements Library), Vol. 77.

found in his Illinois experience. The trouble started 'way back in Pennsylvania when the troops were first on the march. Wagons, teams, and drovers were almost unprocurable, even with the colonial government pressing the local inhabitants to provide them. Wilkins and his five companies were very heavily loaded with provisions and camp equipment. They knew that they would stay in the wild Illinois country for several years, and they had spent many hours thinking about and buying all of the countless things they imagined might be of use on the frontier. The teamsters (and what a curiously modern note is struck here!) demanded what Wilkins considered exorbitant pay for the use of their wagons and oxen. When Wilkins tried to draft them, the drovers chased their cattle into the woods and hid their wagons. In other words, they struck. Wilkins was probably overharsh in his treatment of the teamsters and he certainly underpaid them. Four years after Wilkins left Pennsylvania there were suits in the courts of the colony through which the angry teamsters tried to collect additional pay.

The trip down the Ohio River by flatboat was fairly uneventful, with only a few "alarums" and "excursions" from the Indians. Wilkins arrived with his men at Fort Chartres about the first of September and on the thirteenth of the month rendered his first report to Gage. He wasn't much impressed by the establishment at which he was stationed, nor by the inhabitants he met at the first "go-around." He was, however, overenthusiastic about the Illinois country and the great possibilities abounding for a wonderful and glorious trade which would probably relieve Great Britain of all debts for many years. Besides, he knew how to run a military post better than other officers and he could certainly cut expenses, so all was right with the world.

Wilkins plunged into the difficult task of being a good commandant and governor with a great deal of vigor. He was almost at once in trouble. Part of his trouble was of his own

making; some of it was thrust at him. For instance, the troops were not accustomed to the Illinois climate, and during the first year more than a hundred men, women, and children died of fevers and "summer complaint." Wilkins himself was feverish and weak for a long while, and his complaint seems to have been recurrent, for he often mentions it to Gage. But Wilkins' chief trouble came from a man who ought to have been a stout friend. That was George Morgan, partner of the trading firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan.

Before he left Philadelphia, Wilkins signed an agreement with Samuel Wharton that he would put down all illegitimate trade and favor the Baynton, Wharton and Morgan firm in every way possible, thus cutting their competition and enlarging their profit. Wilkins described the matter to Gage in a diffident fashion—as a far less material affair than he represented it to Morgan. These are his words:

Here I must take the liberty to observe to your Excellency that when I was about leaving Philadelphia, and before I had come to any Resolution of Fixing upon Fort Chartres for myself (as your Excellency was pleas'd to leave it to my Choice either to Command at this place or Fort Pitt) The Company of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan found means to get acquainted with me, and press'd me much tho' Contrary to my inclination to come down here alledging that my presence might be of Infinite service to them in the protection of their Trade, the Storys told me of the Country and a propos'd Gratuity, to make up for my Extra Expences I took my Resolution Accordingly, pleas'd that they had your Excellencys protection and not without some hopes of a fix'd Appointment.³

Later, Wilkins gave a more circumstantial account of the affair, explaining that Gage's cordiality to Wharton produced the impression that Wharton's affairs were to be forwarded. For this service of suppressing illegitimate trade, Wharton agreed (apparently without the prior knowledge of his partners) to pay Wilkins five per cent commission on the net proceeds from their trade in the Illinois country. There was also a guarantee of £1000 per year as a minimum Wilkins could

³ Wilkins to Gage, Feb. 20, 1771, Gage Papers, Vol. 100.

expect. Of this possibly huge annual sum, Wilkins received only £500; and in the failure of the Baynton, Wharton and Morgan company to carry out the contract lies the reason for Wilkins' animosity toward George Morgan. After all, Morgan was the firm's agent and he was on the premises; indeed, it was he who refused Wilkins' demands for payment when they were made. As a matter of fact, Morgan could not pay the commission or even the guarantee, because the firm was rapidly slipping into insolvency.

At the beginning of his stay in the Illinois country, Wilkins was quite conscientious about helping Morgan's firm. He established civil courts, appointed magistrates, and tried to direct verdicts in Morgan's favor. It didn't do a bit of good, for the inhabitants, who had been selected carefully for the court, had a sense of justice which was foreign to Wilkins' nature. The justices decided cases on the merits of the plaintiff and defendant. Wilkins fretted and fussed, overruled the court, and made outrageous demands, but without success. Finally, when Morgan was unable to pay up on the agreement made between Wilkins and Wharton, the commandant turned on him and whipped himself to a frenzy of hatred.

Morgan was the first president of the court of judicature, the majority of whose members were English. Since most of the cases which came before the justices were disputes between the French and English inhabitants, the French litigants were frequently the losers. This aroused most of the French against Wilkins for having instituted the courts. Later, when Morgan and Wilkins were in opposition, Wilkins arranged that the principal power in the courts should be held by the French. This might have cooked Morgan's goose with the French inhabitants, except that the French, already inimical toward Wilkins, couldn't agree with the commandant any more easily than the English inhabitants. Finally, there existed the anachronistic situation of Morgan's leading a French party—which, of course, contained all of the English who had been offended by

Wilkins. In 1771, Wilkins allowed the civil court to lapse.

In the meantime, Wilkins struck at Morgan on every pretext. He tried to break him financially by refusing to settle the crown accounts and he even attacked him through a special court of inquiry under military jurisdiction. Here, again, Wilkins was balked. This time his own officers prevented English military justice from being perverted to private ends. The most exciting case was the Bacon affair, in which a tenant of Morgan's was persuaded to sue his landlord for violation of contract—and other miscellaneous crimes. The court of inquiry decided in Morgan's favor, but Wilkins had the power of review and he took advantage of his position. He refused summarily to accept the verdict of the court and directed the members to open the inquiry anew. This time, to see that justice was done as he wanted it, Wilkins sat in on some of the proceedings and interfered with the conduct of the inquiry. He met with just as much success as he had secured before. The court found again for Morgan.

You would think that by this time Wilkins must have seen that he would never get anywhere with the wily, but reasonably honorable, Morgan and the recalcitrant inhabitants. Men like Wilkins never seem to learn a lesson. Wilkins continued his highhanded methods, making himself more and more objectionable, not only to the civilian inhabitants of the Illinois country, but to the military under him. He was so unbearable that one officer killed himself. Eventually, both civil and military factions complained to General Gage, and they howled so bitterly and with such excellent reason and logic that Gage was forced to ask Wilkins for explanations.

One of the crowning acts of Wilkins' stupidity was his arrest and confinement of George Morgan. On that occasion Wilkins threatened to send Morgan back east in irons to stand trial before a military court. Morgan was not intimidated, but he was wise enough to flee secretly from Wilkins' jurisdiction. When he reached New York, he carried four sets of com-

plaints against Wilkins to present before General Gage. He had his own bitter accusations, those of the officers under Wilkins, those of the French inhabitants of the country, and those of the Baynton, Wharton and Morgan firm.

General Gage was also the recipient of a corroborating set of complaints from a substantial French merchant of the Illinois country, Daniel Blouin. Gage then decided that Wilkins had probably carried things too far and ordered him out of the Illinois country, substituting Major Isaac Hamilton as commandant at Fort Chartres. Gage was usually temperate and cool in his correspondence. Indeed, I have often suspected that Gage hoped his letters would be read (as they have been) by many more people than those to whom they were addressed. Here is what Gage wrote to Wilkins on July 27, 1771:

After acquainting you in general Terms of the Accusations brought against you, and telling you that I neither do or can believe that a Man of your Rank, in whom so much Confidence has been placed, and so great a Trust reposed, would be guilty of the enormities complained of; it is necessary to inform you, that you can't be too speedy in refuting them, and Justifying your Character.

It will be proper that your Defence should be corroborated by such Proofs as you shall be able to procure.⁴

The story of the rest of Wilkins' army career is told quickly. He left Fort Chartres and went down the Mississippi to New Orleans, whence he sailed to Pensacola, and from that point to London. Incidentally, his excuse for taking ship for London instead of New York is laughable; he said he surrendered his bunk on the New York ship to a woman in distress and took the next ship—which happened to be bound for London. You see, Wilkins had been told that as commandant and chief magistrate of the Illinois country he could not be tried for his misdemeanors in America. His case would go to King's Bench, in London, and he wanted to be on the grounds to get his story in the hands of the London authorities before the accusations from America could reach home. He prepared

⁴ Gage to Wilkins, July 27, 1771, Gage Papers, Vol. 104.

his defense by sending off a stream of letters to Gage, explaining and defending his indefensible conduct as well as he could. Some of his letters are quite amusing, as examples of how to squirm unsuccessfully. Gage was not the only recipient of his defensive bombardment.

When Wilkins left America, he gave his friends notice that he intended to resign from the army, if he could sell his company for what he had paid in. On two separate occasions he told Gage that he had paid £4000 for his lieutenant colonelcy and that he hoped, even though the War Office had set a ceiling price of £3500, that he could secure the full amount. The colonel of his regiment was Sir John Sebright. There was a brisk correspondence between the two men and there were letters back and forth between Wilkins and Lord Barrington. The correspondence continued for several years, but in 1775 Wilkins ceased to be an officer in the British Army. I know nothing about him after he left the army, although I hope some day to learn more.

I have tried to give here some idea of the kind of man John Wilkins was. He cast no glory on the cause of the English with the French and English inhabitants of the Illinois country. He appears to have been a most disreputable specimen. I have an idea about Wilkins, which I put forward a little hesitantly because there is only small basis for it. It seems possible to me that Wilkins' physical condition was directly responsible for his erratic behavior. During the Indian troubles of the 1760's—what we now call the French and Indian War—Wilkins received a head wound which affected his sight materially at times and which troubled him with head pains at other times. He was most seriously affected during the hot summer months. Is it not possible, then, that Wilkins suffered a brain injury? I think it is.

Look at the matter this way: Wilkins' rise in the army was steady throughout the years. He was a trusted and apparently respected officer. As far as I am aware there had been no

complaints about his conduct as an officer and a gentleman before he went to the Illinois country. He had been intimately associated with his brother officers for a number of years without being subjected to a court of inquiry or a court-martial. As far as I am aware, none of Wilkins' junior officers tried to escape from his command at any time before he went "haywire" at Fort Charters. In other words, before he became commandant at Fort Chartres, Wilkins was a normal British officer, probably arrogant and unpleasant from the civilian point of view, possibly harsh and rigid toward his men, but quite the perfect officer of the time. Gage trusted him, and Gage was not a poor judge of men. In fact, Gage said over and over that he could not believe that Wilkins had done so-and-so or allowed such-and-such to happen.

In at least one respect, Wilkins carried out his work in the Illinois country rather well. He had a way with the Indians which they liked. Among the Gage Papers at the Clements Library, there is a fifty-three-page "Journal of Transactions and Presents Given to Indians from 23rd December, 1768, to March 12, 1722." It is an apparently complete account—and one of the best of them—of how much the British gave to their Indian wards in the way of supplies, liquor, and gifts in order to keep them under control. Wilkins stated in one of his letters to Gage that he had very largely omitted Indian affairs from his correspondence because he was keeping this Journal, so that as one reads Wilkins' letters there is almost no feeling that he might have known there was an Indian problem.

When the British took over from the French in the Illinois country, the Indians were rather antipathetic toward their new masters. There were several reasons for this state of affairs. The general Indian distrust of the English was based on many former unpleasant relations. The French and Spanish traders, inhabitants, and officials, treated the Indians better all the way round. They made the Indians their friends, while the

English considered all Indians better dead. The Indians were quite thoroughly accustomed to the friendliness of the French and the Spanish, and when they were asked by their friends to irritate the English, the Indians complied willingly. It was rather like partisan warfare. The French and the Spanish were better traders than the English, too, and their mercantile agents were allowed to visit the Indians in their camps. The English traders, on the other hand, were compelled to wait until the Indians visited certain forts and trading posts before they could barter with them. Besides, the French and the Spanish could offer their goods at lower prices in furs than could the English. Transportation on the Mississippi was far cheaper than by the long road overland from the seacoast to Pittsburgh and down the Ohio to the Illinois country. The difficulties of keeping the Indians quiet on the border were recognized in both the American and London headquarters, but the method taken to attach the Indians to the English was not entirely satisfactory. George Croghan, the famous Indian authority, visited the western Indians after the French and Indian War. He succeeded in signing treaties with them, but his outlook for the future was pessimistic. He even suggested that it might be impossible to keep the Indians quiet.

After Croghan's visit, Edward Cole was sent west as Indian agent with wide powers for dealing with the Indians. He was accompanied by a blacksmith and an interpreter. (The smith went along, by the way, to repair the guns belonging to the Indians—an important service, for the Indians were not mechanically adept.) Cole felt that the best way to attach the Indians to the English was through gifts of impressive size. For instance, he gave presents worth £812 sterling to twelve Indian chiefs at one sitting. In one year alone, his bill ran to £10,000, most of which was for presents to the Indians. The single post of Fort Chartres was more than ten times as expensive as Detroit and Mackinac together. All of these presents for the Indians were purchased as needed from the local

traders. During Cole's régime, nearly all of the presents came from Morgan. With the arrival of Colonel Wilkins, the system of excessive present-giving was stopped. Wilkins was determined, on orders from Gage, to cut the cost of running the Illinois country establishments. One of the ways he chose to do this was through reducing gifts to the Indians. Since Morgan relied on this kind of sale for some of his best profits, part of the enmity between Morgan and Wilkins may be traced to the British ministry's desire to cut the cost of government.

I have often wondered why the consumption of spirituous liquors was so great in Illinois—in the eighteenth century, I mean. (Parenthetically, I came across a delightful sidelight on the liquor situation in a petition from George Morgan to General Gage, in 1769, "in behalf of the Inhabitants at the Illinois." The petition is entitled "Some Reasons Why the Distillation of Spirits from Grain Ought To Be Encouraged at the Illinois." The fur trade was unimportant, the petition argued; grazing and agriculture must be the principal occupations of the people. But they could raise much more corn than they could dispose of. What should be done with the excess? Mr. Morgan urged a distillery. Annual consumption of liquor in Illinois was 10,000 gallons—by a population of about 2,000, mind you—most of which was being imported from the French in New Orleans. Well then, under such conditions, why not keep the money in Illinois? Morgan's arguments are impressive, and I finished my perusal of the petition strongly in favor of letting Illinois irrigate its own alimentary canal.)

The answer to my question about the gallonage of liquors consumed in Illinois seems to lie in the quantity given to the Indians. For instance, in the month of February, 1769, Wilkins gave twelve gallons of rum to various Indians who visited him—and the total was not excessive. He had six groups of Indians at Fort Chartres that month, including Black Dog, chief of the Peoria, two parties of Mitches (as he called the

Michigamea), a party of Illinois, and a party of Osage. There was also an unidentified group which merely wanted to trade and was handed out only a blanket, a squaw's petticoat, and half a gallon of rum. The Osage were important people, for they came from the other side of the Mississippi with news of the French and Spanish doings in that country. They were given elaborate and important presents. The chief received a laced hat, a blanket coat, and a new silk handkerchief, while his small party was given three gallons of rum, some tobacco, some necklaces for their squaws, a tin pot, a paper of paint, two shirts, and a string of wampum. The wampum represented the road to and from the English as being the most pleasant and advantageous for their supply of provisions, goods, etc.—and rum.

Part of Wilkins' duty was to keep the Indians from fighting among themselves as well as against the English. On one notable occasion, three Kaskaskia chiefs, Baptiste, Tomeroy, and Laudeviet (very good Indian names, all!), with a large party returning from a hunting expedition, stopped by for a courtesy call—and some gifts. They expressed strong fears that the Chickasaw intended to strike at them and, perhaps, planned to cut them off on this very hunting trip. Wilkins didn't say so, but he probably knew that the Chickasaw had no such intentions, for he talked the Kaskaskia out of their fright, liquored them up, and sent them home with the advice that they ought to settle under the protection of the English. Wilkins commented at the end of the day's work, "It is prudent to keep this Nation in temper."

The Chickasaw were the fiercest and most troublesome nation in the eyes of the less savage Indians of the Illinois country. The Peoria, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Michigamea, and other such tribes were particularly fearful. In March, 1769, there was a council of the chiefs of four nations at Fort Chartres to hear a talk by a chief of the Arkansaw. The chiefs of the four nations had tried to convince Wilkins that the

Chickasaw and Arkansaw tribes intended to unite and annihilate the Illinois country Indians. Wilkins succeeded in calming all fears.

Two years later, however, the Chickasaw caused a flurry of excitement. Here is Wilkins' account of what happened between April 19 and April 27, 1771:

19th—Arrived in the rear of this Fort as if to avoid being Seen 20 young Chickasaw warriors Ornamented & well Appointed, lodged them in a room in the Fort to prevent their being ill treated by our Indians &c—

20th With Difficuly got a person to Speak to their Chief, and found them desirous to make peace & much more talk with great reserve, this evening 10 more of same Nation arrived in the manner as those before mention'd.—

21st—Got a Chickasaw that had been long married in this Country to a Woman of the Peorias, & in talk with the whole party found their intention was to have Struck the Wabash Indians, but falling on a path to this Fort they determin'd at all Hazards to make me this Visit, & declare they will now return directly to their nation, Various are the Conjectures of the Inhabitants & Indians in this Country on the Arrival of these their most inveterate Enemies, & doubtless those on the other side this river will be equally Alarm'd, Their visit may have a good Effect if I can Contrive to get them out of this Country without Mischief being done, They seem to be a *discreet* but *dareing* set of Young Men, & have as private as possible shown me their hatred to the river Indians.—

22.d, 23.d, 24th, & 25th In Counsil with parties of the nations of the Illinois, Chickasaws & Shawanes contriving means of bringing about a peace between them, & to appearance have Succeeded at last, As some Warriors of the Kaskaskias are to go with the 30 Chickasaws for that purpose to the Chickasaw nation to Opaymattaka the Chief thereof, The 30 Warriors of that Nation present declaring in a very becoming manner their respect to their Chief & that they have no power or authority to talk of peace or war but come here on a friendly visit to me & will return in same manner, this union will be of the utmost consequence as it will Show the Inhabitants on both Sides this River that we can Command there much dreaded Enemy, also Strike a Terror into the Wabash & river Indians, Mess.rs Valle & Velar Spanish Officers at Miser⁵ *in their prudence* have wrote me in very polite & pressing Terms desiring I would Include them in a peace with the Chickasaws, I have answer'd them with all politeness but might have desired they would permit me to Ascend the Missouri to gain over the Nations on that river, 'tis true they come to trade on this Side but not with the Approbation of the Spaniards—

⁵ Ste. Geneviève, Missouri.

26th In Council morning & afternoon with the above-mention'd parties of nations & the Chickasaws declare they will make a visit to the officer, Troops, Savages and Inhabitants of Kaskaskias.—

27th They prepare to sett off, & I gave their Chief a letter to Opay-mattaka their King, also a letter to Mess.rs McIntosh & Struthers Traders in that Country to give the party of Chickasaws & Illinois Indians Credit to the amount of £20, New York, provided a peace is made between those Nations, gave the Chickasaws 15.lb powder, 30.lb lead, 2 lb Vermillion, 2 Shirts, 2 blanketts, 3 pair leggins, 3 Britch Cloaths, 2 Tamohawk pipes, 6 dozen of Small brass bells for the young men, also 6 jews harps, 1 Dozen knives, mended all their Arms & Knives, plenty of provisions during their Stay in this Fort with 7 Gallons of rum in the 9 days to the 30 warriors, & a new lock to one of the Chiefs for his Gunn.⁶

After this activity, Wilkins reported no more trouble from the Chickasaw. Perhaps his handling of the Indians was the only score to his credit during his Illinois venture. Major Isaac Hamilton succeeded Wilkins as commandant at Fort Chartres, and very shortly thereafter the Ministry in London decided to close the whole establishment. Before the British had a chance to settle down comfortably in their troubled Illinois country, the Revolutionary War was upon them and whatever plans they may have had for exploiting the country were "knocked galley-west." Of course, the British were able to transfer the Indian problem to the Americans. For the Secretary of State for the southern department, handling American Indian affairs, that must have made the war worth losing.

⁶ Gage Papers, Vol. 138.

BELLEVILLE GERMANS LOOK AT AMERICA (1833-1845)*

BY ADA M. KLETT

SQUIRE Dingwerth accompanied me to the many German farmsteads on beautiful Elkhorn Prairie and introduced me to a number of the settlers; but none of them was interesting enough to be identified by name here—these people have no postoffice near, don't know what is happening in the world and feel neither the desire nor the necessity to know anything about it. Envable people! The prairie bordered by woods on three sides and open to the horizon on the fourth is their world!" The sun-tanned German on horseback who commented thus in a letter dated Belleville, July 17, 1844, to his fiancée, Hannah Kribben—still his fiancée, not his wife, although he was thirty-six years old—was Theodor Engelmann of Belleville, Illinois, notary public, farm agent, about to be admitted to the bar after reading law in the office of Gustav Koerner,¹ his long-time friend of student days in Munich and now his brother-in-law. What accounts for the sophisticated irony of his envying the Hanoverian farm folk? It is the fact that they had arrived, and he had not. Eleven years had passed since he came over from the Bavarian Rhineland with his parents and their large family, a mature young man who had had his eight or nine semesters of law study at Heidelberg, Munich, and Jena universities and had taken his finals (which he failed to pass, not so much from lack of ap-

* The quotations in this article are drawn from the collection of Engelmann family letters in the Illinois State Historical Library. The letters are in German.

¹ Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, 1853-1857, and Minister to Spain during Lincoln's administration.

plication or intelligence but because of his political activities, and his hearty enjoyment of student conviviality all during that last glorious summer while studying for the finals). Moreover, he had carefully prepared himself for the American venture—as had the other young men, university students like himself—by apprenticing himself to a tanner, learning a trade. He had been induced to do so—against his inclinations, really—by a thoughtful letter which his father, Forest Warden Friedrich Engelmann at Imsbach and later Winnweiler, near Kaiserslautern, had written him after he failed his examination. This is the letter, in part, dated Imsbach, November 28, 1831:

There is a proposal made to you: to leave your fatherland, over which aristocracy and clericalism stir their wings again ominously, and to join a large group that will emigrate to America in a year and a half. That would mean that you come home now, learn English and a good handicraft—tanner, locksmith, or saddler—and surveying, and get good practice in shooting and agriculture. They say that 1500 guilders should suffice to establish you in such a way that, in a few years, you could draw all of us after you, etc. A cartwright—Theodor Kraft, I believe, who has shelved his law study and is studying mechanics; a cabinet maker, Eduard Hilgard,² who is now studying veterinary science; a carpenter, Fritz H[ilgard], who works as an apprentice in Speier every day—these are numbered among the group; they are still lacking a good locksmith, blacksmith, and particularly a *gunmaker*. What do you think of this proposal? As for the 1500 guilders, that sum we could perhaps raise for you; however, the other members will take along twenty, thirty, forty, and more thousand! That makes for uneasy inequality from the very start. And, above all else, is it right to leave one's fatherland because the enemies of light and humanity threaten to overcome it? I am inclined to doubt it. It is true, the boundless poverty that surrounds us everywhere in our German fatherland breaks your heart and is in stark contrast to the luxuriant abundance, the rich blessings that the banks of the Missouri, the Ohio, the Mississippi offer everyone who is but willing to work hard with his hands. But is it honorable to flee from the misery of one's fellow-citizens, instead of co-operating with all one's strength to overcome this misery?—Think it all over, my dear Theodor, and for the time being treat as con-

² Members of the Hilgard family settled near Belleville in 1833. In the fall of 1854, Henry Villard, journalist, war correspondent, and friend of Lincoln's, visited his relatives there and sojourned with them for some time. His name was originally Ferdinand Heinrich Gustav Hilgard. Later he married Fanny Garrison, daughter of William Lloyd Garrison. Oswald Garrison Villard, well-known New York journalist, is their son.

fidential the information I have given you. They do not wish to see it promulgated. Our Frankfurt people are going along. No one of the group has studied mining—mineralogy—I wonder? . . .

Theodor, on receiving this letter in Munich, must have noticed how his father was recommending to his son the very skills in which he, the forest warden, was trained, and in which he could instruct his son. Young Engelmann did prepare himself for pioneer life; but except for the hunting—which he cherished—he had found no satisfaction in farming by the end of his first year in America, at least not as his father's helper. His trouble, of course, was that of every young man; it was intensified when he changed his nationality at the very time of breaking away from home. The following excerpt from a letter which Theodor wrote to his oldest sister, Gretchen Hilgard, who had remained behind in Speier, gives us an impression of his gloom:

July 30, 1834

Dear Sister,

. . . I had promised you to send back home detailed reports of our journey, our settling, and our life in America. I don't know if I will succeed today in passing over, that is, not touch upon, all which, like an evil spectre, has kept me from writing to you or to anyone in the old country. Or should I stand before you and confide to you, brother to sister, what weighs upon me, and lay my lament open to your sympathetic heart? . . . Let me hint that a brooding mood of discontent has come over me which haunts me everywhere and makes life hateful to me. It is not America that is at fault—no, I worship this country of reason, in which I find the embodiment of my fondest hopes; hopes, it is true, that were connected solely with the fatherland left behind. No, the fault lies within myself, in my position at home and in our family—I am a miserable, dependent man, without any will and any initiative of my own. Spare me further elaboration.

I have been trying to mingle with Americans to master the language. There is no opportunity for that on our farm; yet I wish to gain access to the sources of this country and to study them. [He means this country's history and constitution, one gathers.] So far I have not succeeded. Last year in October, after a long search, I found a place with a tanner in Belleville, an upright man. I would walk to the tannery early in the morning while the last stars shimmered in the sky and I would return when the setting sun's trailing robe submerged behind the trees, and the dark

shadows of night drew near. There are no rest hours in America; the brief spans for eating hardly count. Moreover I was alone all day long and had no chance to perfect myself in the English language; and evenings I was so tired out that arms and legs were stiffened, and no desire left to linger long among the Americans for the sake of their language. There was even less thought of reading or writing—I sought my bed. Thus one month passed spent in purely physical activity—morally a lost month. I could not go on living thus—I returned to the farm firmly intending to find some kind of activity soon that would put me in contact with Americans and bring me closer to my goal. I'd gladly have been a storekeeper, but no opening offered itself. We live so far from places where such people are needed—it was easy for others to get there ahead of me. Had I learned earlier that Schreiber was joining a group going to the Pacific Ocean I would have been his comrade most likely. As for joining the militia I feared our parents' disapproval. Thus I am still living on the farm and doing farm work. Although I never took much interest in this sort of work formerly, I find it more and more interesting the longer I busy myself with it, and I could quite contentedly cultivate my own farm. But here on our poor soil (for our field is terribly worn out) I waste my time and effort, and I cannot go ahead following my own lights; yet (although I obey orders) it is rare that I earn Father's approval. All this is terribly disheartening to me, and all my thinking day and night revolves around the idea of how I could get away from home, find a way of earning my living and face the world on my own feet. But all my plans are nipped in the bud by my failure to know English. My hopes are now concentrating on Koerner, who will be living in town among Americans and who may find a modest place for me—I must succeed in the end, must terminate this situation. . . .

As for the language difficulties to which Theodor alluded, they were indeed far greater then than they are now. We may assume that he took English lessons while still in Germany; but he had a poor teacher, it seems. His younger sister Sophie (who became Koerner's wife) spoke of her own English lessons as having done her no good whatever. A young Swabian, Doctor Lütty, told the Engelmann daughters that he would not call on Americans as a doctor, for he could not possibly learn English, and when an American did call him he would say, "I noting [nothing?] doctor." A son of the Engelmanns, Ludwig, claimed to have heard the doctor say that he was going to open a haberdasher's shop in St. Louis! So Ludwig

sternly objected to his sister's considering acceptance of the doctor, who was courting her.

The Engelmanns, after settling in Shiloh Township in St. Clair County, remained socially isolated within their own large German-speaking group of family and friends. Sophie, at eighteen, put it this way, naïvely: "The more Germans come the nicer it will be. The Americans are very boring, particularly when you cannot talk with them." Theodor watched gay sleighing parties of "English Americans" in St. Louis, but he was never with them. After three and a half years in this country he wrote:

Of the ladies of the land I can say nothing whatever, because I have not come to know any more closely. . . . I'd like to observe them in their social circles, but have so far not entered any of these. As for public balls, my purse does not permit me to attend them, for you can not easily get away under \$10.00 or 15.00. I spend most of my time in my room, which is also my office. . . .

In this fifth year in America, Theodor, who liked to theorize, explained the segregation in the following way, speaking of St. Louis in 1838:

Germans of all classes and all degrees of education have congregated here. Some occupy a place next to the colored people; Germans are found in all classes of society and, finally, head the group of those concerned with science and scholarship. The American cannot understand how people from one and the same country can be so different, for the Americans are all on more or less the same level, having all had the same opportunities of schooling, and having used them equally; even lawyers and doctors do not train for their intellectual and scientific work any differently than shoemakers and blacksmiths do for their trade. The Germans may well have come to the conclusion that they cannot live on such friendly terms with the English Americans, cannot find as much pleasure and joy in their society as they can among themselves ["the grapes are sour," said the fox]; and something like it may happen among Americans. Although the better people among both nations respect each other, they seek little contact except when their business requires it; in their social life they are completely separate. . . .

Thus Theodor was reduced to learning the language of the country by "taking up again some easy English reading."

But, he said, for eight months of his first year while he was a tanner and a farmhand he did not "take pen in hand, nor have time for reading." When he did manage, with Koerner's help, to establish himself in a small business of his own in St. Louis in 1835, he hoped it would prove "quite lucrative once I am more experienced and have greater familiarity with the English language, which is still a great obstacle to me." His hopes proved false.

As for social contacts with Americans, the Hilgards, cousins of the Engelmanns, seem to have fared better. With gratification and pride, Theodor Erasmus Hilgard of West Belleville announced the engagement of his daughter Molli to a young American, Sharon Tyndale, later Secretary of State in Illinois.

A year and a half later, on January 20, 1836, we find young Engelmann's mood much improved. But as for earning a decent living he was no better off than before. He wrote:

I myself am lacking nothing but independence to be content. It is hard to think that a man of my age [twenty-eight] should not be able to wrestle from fate a life satisfying and even comfortable in any country and among any nation. Ever since I broke away from home—where my strivings for independence and autonomy were constantly at odds [*in heissem Kampf*] with an unconditional obedience and submission to Father's orders and dispositions—I have been of an even, cheerful temper. The only thing that disturbs my serenity at times is the melancholy to which I give way in idle hours. It seems to me then that I lead a worthless life, and indeed there can be no more pitiful lot than to be forced to work today so you can live tomorrow. If there weren't the hope that later on one will be able to handle more liberally one's activities and their fruits, a man would do better to drown himself in the Mississippi....

The considerations that determined the nature and scope of his business enterprise in St. Louis emphasized the separateness of the large German element from their English-speaking neighbors, partly because of the barrier of language. He continued:

Here in the West, St. Louis must be considered the central gathering place of the Germans. This is the immigrant's first destination, from here

he makes scouting trips out into the country to find a place to settle, to this city he returns over and over to obtain the greater part of his life's necessities and to sell his produce, and through St. Louis, only, does he have access to the rest of the world. To this city many return to exchange the trade of farmer for that of another, burgher. You find Germans in every trade by now, as many in number as Americans, I think. There is no lack of German shops, inns and beer houses, and new ones arise every day. The number of German laborers [*Tagelöhner*], of hired men and maids far exceeds those of all other races, no doubt, even including the free Negroes. Considering all this, we, that is, Koerner and myself, figured that a person might be able to make quite a good living by being the agent in business deals between Americans and Germans, and doing just that and nothing else, and this induced me to open up an "Intelligence and Real Estate Office." I moved here, my entire assets being Decker's horse that was to be sold for its waywardness. I got rid of it for \$30—although Decker had paid \$60 for it—rented a room in a promising neighborhood, sent out notices [even across the ocean, for the benefit of future immigrants!] and started my business hopefully. The expense, it is true, was much higher than I had foreseen. I was in a tight place more than once, but I fought my way through, and I see now, at year's end, that I did take in a goodly sum. Although my debts are still higher than my income, I see my overhead decreasing the more my business gets going, and I have every reason to believe that eventually it will be quite lucrative. . . . I have at this moment over \$100,000 of land for sale. . . . My fee is four per cent. on an average. Besides, there is all sorts of incidental work: Make translations, write letters, transact business with the Justice of the Peace, hire out maids, etc. So far I have had to do many things gratuitously to win clients and the people's confidence; but later I hope to secure business for which people ordinarily turn to a lawyer or a notary public. . . .

The reasons why Theodor's business did not prove lucrative are set forth by Koerner as follows, and do honor to the young businessman's character: "He was too straightforward, disliked to use persuasion, would not recommend a thing which he thought was not worth recommending—in a word, he was too honest to flourish in this line of business. He was not what the Americans call 'smart.'"³

A sheet from a diary of Theodor's, dated January 3-5, 1839, records dark moods of bitter disillusionment. He wrote:

³ Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), I: 410-411.

The day began drearily like its predecessors. I was plunged into sinister reflections, which were not pierced by any ray of sunlight. Why did I leave behind the land of my birth with all its sweet traditions that tie us to it with a million bonds? What good was it that I, with a cold blow of my fist, destroyed the deep affection which the surroundings of our cradle engender in us? I was driven to it by a great delusion! In America, ruled by reason, I thought to enjoy freedom, live as a republican, a democrat, and thus reach the highest plane available to man as a member of society. Fool that I was! The measure of deception and error and tyranny is equally large everywhere, and filled to the brim; these ills are inherent in sovereignty, are attached to an individual over there and to the people over here, both boasting of their rights. Over there they say, "By His Grace," over here, "*vox populi, vox Dei*;" and this nonsense is sacred, and 'is law. In Europe one holds the rulers responsible for the ills and considers the people good but weak, and one pities and loves the people; but over here one sees clearly enough that the people are *bad*. It is not reason that governs the states, but intrigue; statesmen do not stand at the helm, but gamblers; the country has no citizens, but mercenaries, who do crooked deals with its laws and institutions; they profess principles not because they believe in them as the result of their reasoning and experience, but because they want to see them spread among the people. . . . They run for office not in order to serve the people but to cheat them. You can listen to their high-sounding speeches every day—they proclaim liberty, integrity in office, civic virtue, courage, unselfishness, and other great ideals; they talk incessantly—but never have I seen their fruits. . . .

During the following ten years, Theodor gradually broadened his activities. He took the privately owned German Mercantile Library into his office and acted as its librarian, at \$200 a year; he started a German paper in Belleville, *Der Beobachter*, in 1844. He was riding across country to solicit subscriptions for it among the Low German farmers of Elkhorn County when he met Squire Dingwerth, in fact; but these German farm folk, whose horizon was limited to what their eyes saw, made all sorts of excuses; he did not get a single new subscription. The paper appeared for thirteen months only. (In 1849 a new start was made, with better success.)

At last, on April 3, 1845, Theodor Engelmann could announce to his fiancée, Hannchen Kribben, that he had arrived, and that their union was within sight. He was a man of thirty-

eight now, and wrote thus:⁴

My dear Hannchen,

This is April 3, a date that has some significance in our family history, and, as I hope confidently, will gain in significance as time goes on. Twelve years ago to-day my parents with their children left their home in Germany in order to find here, under the liberal constitutions of the United States, the mental and spiritual contentment which a thinking man fails to find under the pressure of despotic governments; twelve years ago to-day I, and a group of young men who had more enthusiasm for, than experience in, the sacred cause of liberty, made the attack on the Main-Guard House [political police headquarters] in Frankfurt with the aim of starting a revolution in Germany. It was at this very hour that we, bayonets fixed, stormed across the barricades and made the guards, taken by surprise, our prisoners. A few hours later we knew that all was lost and were glad to find a safe hiding-place and make preparations for our flight. And to-day, my dear Hannchen, I entered upon my office as Chief Clerk of our Belleville Court—with what emotions, my dearest, you can well imagine. . . . I'd love to hold you in my arms this minute and make plans—something I have tried not to do so far [making plans, that is] because of the uncertain times. I'll save my money and work hard and scrape up the funds so we can buy the most essential furnishings and start our household together by the end of May or early in June. . . . I don't doubt that the returns of my office will be more than enough to satisfy our modest wants. . . . I wanted so much to bring you this good news in person—but now that I have gotten it down on paper I have but one thought: to work and get ready. . . . Here I am sending you your ring, my darling. Perhaps it is a talisman that brings good luck to the one who owns it.—Your last little letter was so tender, how good it made me feel! In what good spirits I am—so well all at once, and so happy; love me and be happy too.

Your Theodor.

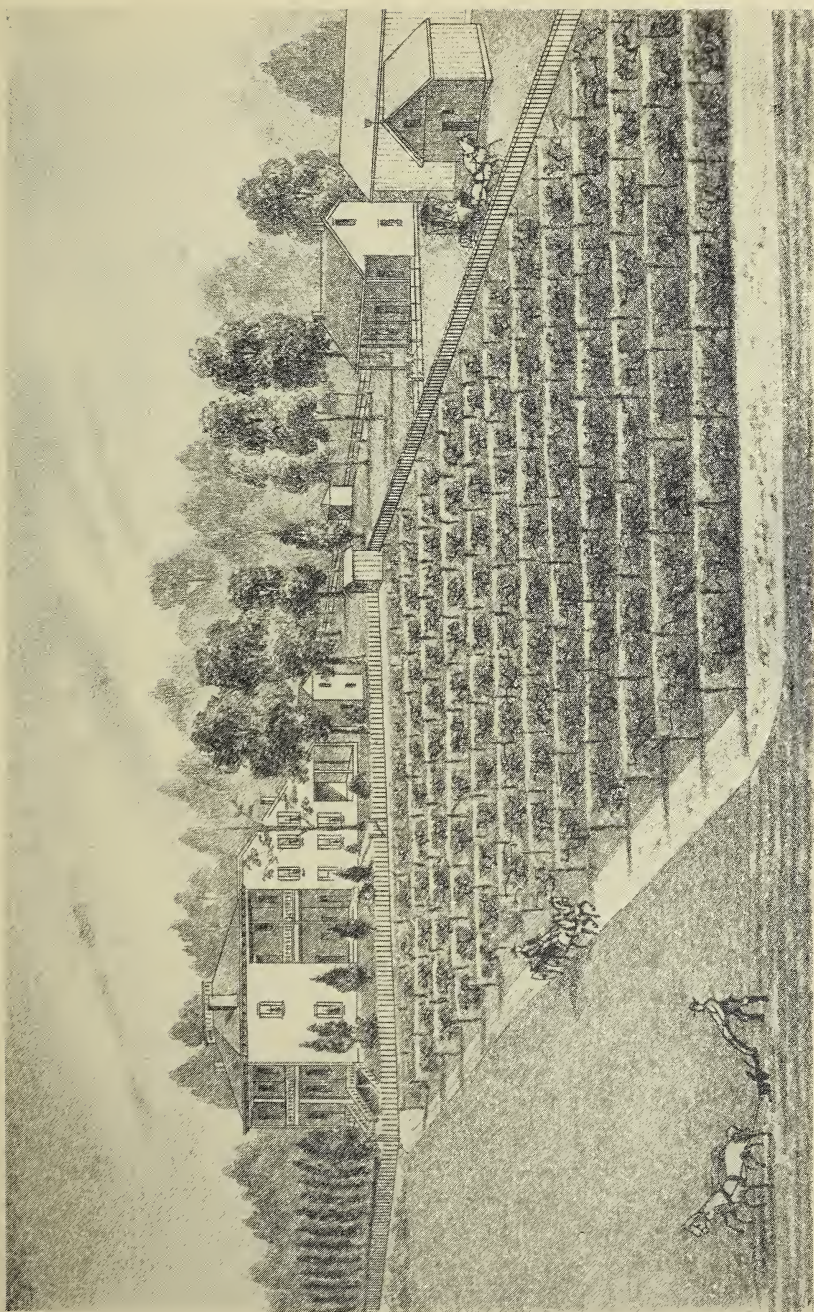
Theodor must have done well the following fifteen years; for in 1860 we find him moving his family from Belleville to his own large farm on Looking-Glass Prairie three miles south of Mascoutah, where he had erected a stately two-story, brick house with open porticos fashioned after the elegant Southern mansions of St. Louis. He lived there until his death in 1889, a respected citizen of the township named for him.

⁴ This letter, of all letters, is not a spontaneous outpouring of his soul, but bears marks of careful organization and wording, appears premeditated, drafted, then copied—Theodor Engelmann was a man of order, a pedant, almost, in his living habits.

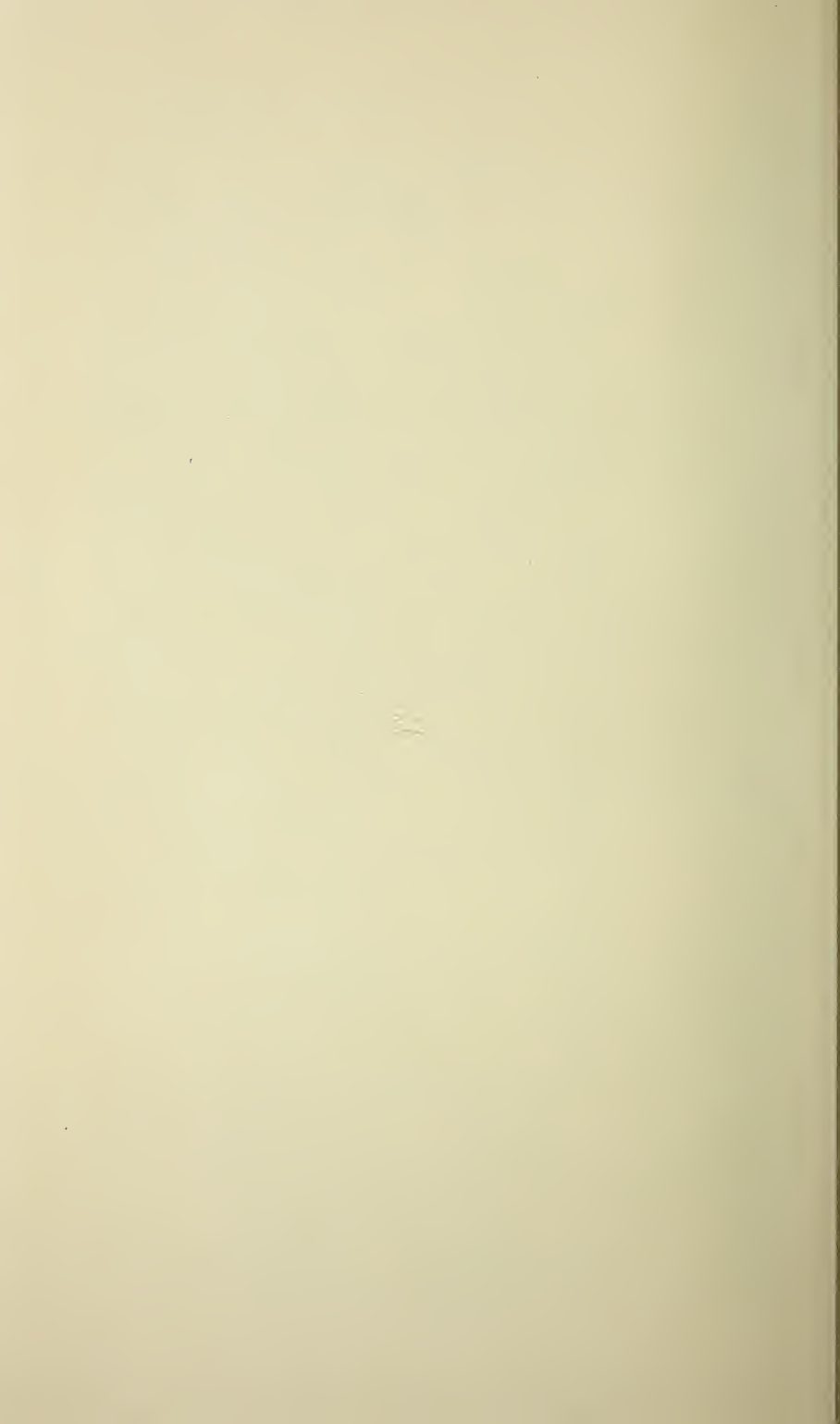
While Theodor Engelmann is not among the most outstanding men who came to southern Illinois in the 1830's and 1840's, the record of his adjustment troubles poignantly reveals the feeling of his generation.

Two among his group of university friends chose a different path, succeeded faster and rose to greater eminence in public life, Gustav Koerner and Dr. Georg Engelmann, his cousin from Frankfurt. From the start these two determined to continue their academic careers in the new country. A letter of Theodor Engelmann dated July 30, 1834 succinctly pictures life among six young bachelors on the Upper Farm of the Engelmans. He describes the superb location of the log house, mentions the cracks in the wall through which the first rays of the sun sneaked in, finding several beds empty. The farm hands were off for work. These cracks admitted the cold in winter and cooled the ardor of a young lover, once, the girls report. To quote from Theodor:

Only Koerner, servant of Minerva, and the worthy successor to Aesculapius, Georg, can't be aroused; they cling to their beds. . . . Now if you visited us here you'd think at first that you had chanced into the study of a scholar, for except for Koerner, who would meet you with a study-worn face and mussed-up hair, nobody else is in, and you'd see that he and the bookshelves in every nook and corner of the room belong together. But soon the whole takes on a different aspect, for you discover an entire wall hung with our clothes of all kinds, guns and hunting bags, saddles and other riding paraphernalia. Finally you discover the doctor's [Georg Englemann's] medicine chest plus fragments of his scientific activities, such as snakeskins, birds ready for stuffing, and piles of gray blotting paper for drying his plants. Three large bedsteads take up the major part of the room as do tables and chairs, with whose frailties one must be acquainted to use them without danger. These complete the furnishings of the room. It gets its light mostly through the ever open door; the only window has panes largely of boards and cardboard. We live here very much our way, and therefore pleasantly, and want no change. When we get together here we are in good spirits and forget the unpleasant and boring aspects of our lives. Koerner and Georg, serving as they do as connecting links between the monotony of American farm life and the civilized world, are great assets of course. My limited time [as a farm hand] does not permit me any occupation with the arts



RESIDENCE OF THEODOR ENGELMANN, 1860-1889



and sciences or politics, not even reading now and then. Through them I learn regularly of new developments in one field or the other; with them such topics are discussed, and they keep me from slipping back entirely. Their company, therefore, means a great deal to me, and I shudder to think of the time when they won't be here any longer. Excepting Friedrich . . . I shall find no substitute for Koerner's and Georg's company among the rest of our German neighbors, not even in Ledergerber [who married Theodor's sister Lottchen later] who . . . is as much alienated from all intellectual pursuits as are the rest of our neighbors, whom I see but rarely. . . .

Koerner relates in his personal *Memoirs*, written in old age, that he overcame the difficulties of foreign birth and very limited means with great energy and perseverance. He earned a little money by writing while he learned English during his first year. His fiancée, Sophie Engelmann, reported the following on December 10, 1833:

Koerner lives at the Upper Farm and comes down for meals only. He busies himself with literary work, the farm life is not at all to his taste. His mind wants food—and a farmer must almost totally starve his mind, for he is too busy by day and too tired at night to take time for it. K. wants to go to an American university this spring to train to be an American lawyer. Just now he is working on a critical evaluation of Duden's work.⁵ You, my dear Hilgard, must not get angry over it [Duden's book] until you have read Koerner's essay and compared the two. Duden embellished things and lured many a family to come out here who would have done better to have remained in the Eastern states. For us, too, it might have been better by the beautiful waterfalls of the Mohawk than here in Illinois which has hills, but neither mountains nor water. . . .

Dr. Georg Engelmann, after journeys for botanical exploration that took him as far as Arkansas, settled in St. Louis as a physician; to do so he had to sell his horse and his gun. Yet four years later he had saved up enough funds for a journey back to Germany to bring over a cousin as his wife. He established himself in St. Louis again and became a leading physician among the German, French, and English population, his success being due to his advanced methods as a doctor as well as to his speaking the three languages. With unexcelled

⁵ Gottfried Duden, *Europe und Deutschland von Amerika aus betrachtet*. . . (Bonn, 1833).

patience and judgment he continued to further the study of botany. He left some 20,000 notes, very excellent drawings, had contact with Harvard scholars, was among the first to stress ecological and symbiotic aspects of plant life, assisted Henry Shaw in laying out the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis, enlisted all his friends to collect specimens which he identified and classified—and all this while carrying on a doctor's practice!

While the young daughters of the Engelmann family cannot be classed among the "intellectuals"—although one at least, Josephine Engelmann Kircher, was very intelligent and public-spirited—they did have frustrations comparable to those of the young men. In December, 1833, Lottchen Engelmann wrote back to her oldest sister in Germany:

Your letter told us all we could wish to know; we celebrated, in silent fervor, the triumphs of our sacred cause with you—you are fortunate still to be living the rich life! Although it gives us pain [of nostalgia] still it is a thrill to imagine ourselves in the midst of this spiritual fight for principles.—Our life here seems idyllic compared to the epic of your existence—how grand are joy and pain with you—the laments that reach our ears here concern the household, the empty pantry, the boredom, the load of work, the poor quarters; and the joys we hear of? I ate a good squab today, coffee cake, etc. The chickens laid well, a cock was shot, or even a deer, the cows gave a lot of milk, the sun is warm today and we can dry the wash, etc. Oh, if only we could tear from our souls our passionate interest [in the cause of German liberalism] and wash it away with our many tears—it would do us good. But I for one cannot do it, and, to tell the truth, I don't want to! And now, my dear Sister, in giving my whole soul to the sweet pleasure of talking to you, I can assure you that I think by now it is good for us that we are here—in spite of all obstacles and griefs we have had to overcome, and will have to face in the future, I believe we shall live here very happily once you are all here and the dear families we are expecting [the Theodor Hilgards, Sr., etc.]. The essentials are found here—a pleasant climate, if you adjust yourself somewhat to it in your housing and way of living; a rich soil; a pretty landscape; unlimited freedom and equality—everything else, beyond that, rests within the power of those who live here, if God's grace is with them. It is to be expected that a person—and especially *we* with our great love for the German fatherland—should have judged [this new country] unfairly at first, and we still do. You cannot

help it, and it often seems to me a betrayal of my fatherland should I give preference to America. And as for the beauty of the countryside, art, science, and culture it would be ridiculous even to think of making a comparison. Through the latter three, the former will gain a good deal—four hundred years ago Germany was not as beautiful a garden either as she is today; and the latter three I hope we bring along with us to our new country and our new Germany, as we call the region we inhabit now, which will grow in time as it takes in all those who sacrificed their security for the liberty of the country across the seas where liberty was born—those who were fortunate enough to escape from the Argus of prison and serfdom. I draw rich satisfaction from dwelling on this thought—it is so near at hand, and has materialized partly. Bunsen, who is going to spend the winter with us, declared this would henceforth be the goal of his striving—his active mind cannot be without great plans. He has the ability to work toward their realization as well. . . . We enjoy our many visitors, Germans every day, and often Americans too, especially young men! They come beautifully dressed up and are very polite, there is never a lack of compliments—as they understand them. You can imagine that this means a lot of fun for us, if you can imagine young farmers. . . . Yet I must admit they are more refined in their manners than our peasants. All Americans have a concern for their freedom—a trait so becoming to a man; and they have no conception of inequality of social rank—they don't know what it is. However, they are equally ignorant of the finer feelings and needs of the mind and heart, and they know nothing about love as we know it and want it. It is the necessities of life that make marriages—all marry young and then live from day to day, like the lilies in the field. With the Americans this is instinctive, but in the Germans I know I do not like it. They know better, and to shed the finer and more tender manners can only lead to coarseness.

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Then she tells, with humor, irony, and grace, two delightful stories of courtship. Eventually she was to marry a handsome, solid Swiss, Joseph Ledergerber, whom she describes thus: “[He is] very modest and pleasant to be with, the most obliging and courteous of the young men about us, and we may well call him a friend, although he has not much knowledge of science and none of literature, so that conversation with him can turn only to the most prosaic things, and never to politics. . . .”

Her own passionate concern for all nations struggling for freedom made her espouse the cause of the refugee Poles. She was in correspondence and personal contact with several,

and in the letter quoted above she found this classic solution: "I wish all Poles were here, and each had a little farm!" Small wonder that her heart and mind starved later when she had become prosaic Ledergerber's wife. She did have the chance to marry a former Polish officer, advanced in years, who came with a small store on a cart, offered her his heart and hand the first evening, which horrified her, took quarters "with wealthy Americans" down the road and turned up again night after night, wearing colorful, elegant clothes and all his medals. She wrote:

Finally I was so afraid of him that I never left our little room upstairs; but once he just walked in—had he not been a Pole that would have settled matters for good, but as it was we could not deny him the freedom of our house, especially since he seemed to be an officer of merit, and no longer young. . . .

A moving contrast to these stories is Koerner's and Sophie's pure, innocent love. It does me good to watch them; I find a pure joy in their happiness—it brings up many a hallowed memory of similar emotions of my own. . . .

In contrast to her highly sensitive older sister, Sophie Engelmann—then eighteen (ten years younger)—seems sober and well adjusted as she described pioneer life on the Engelmann farm:

Oh Gretchen, when I think of you living in your paradise [in the Rhineland city of Speier] and you believing it a foretaste of what you will find here—move into the cellarhouse and think you live in an American palace, then you can get an idea—but I must not exaggerate; we have four nice small rooms. The lower ones are quite as drafty yet, but that can be changed easily; and once you are all here we'll like it quite well, I am sure. . . . We have a great deal of work, the wear and tear on the men's clothes is unspeakable, and the wash takes a lot of time, too. We have to wash almost every week, but it is not as bad as winter washes at home; the weather is really wonderful and, should it continue so, could reconcile us with the summer heat. . . . If only you could drop in some day and see them all at work—Father chopping wood or making fences or repairing the sleigh, Ludwig [a trained apothecary] with the ox team, Johann [Scheel, a college-trained young forester and surveyor] with the horse, plowing, Theodor tanning, or all of them together working on the fences—it is a lively sight—and us girls at the wash tubs or patching trousers, those are almost our only occupations. . . .

Earlier in this letter she said:

I for my part have the least grounds for complaint. Koerner is everything to me, yes, my Gretchen, I am very happy through my Gustav's love, and when he is with me I forget everything and live only for the bliss of the moment, and picture our future in bright colors. . . .

Their marriage was to be a long and very happy union.

The dearth of rich and refined emotional experiences plagued not only the young women but Theodor Engelmann, before he found his Hannchen, suffered from it also. Being a man of thought he justified indulgence in nostalgic memories, and accounted for their gradual fading. The following passage sums up the various aspects of Americanization for educated Germans a hundred years ago, and may serve as the concluding paragraph of this article, which is an attempt to show the experience of adjustment on the basis of selected passages from the Engelmann family letters:

St. Louis, Jan. 20, 1836

Dear Sister,

. . . Your loving words went straight to my heart, they are so rare in this country and quite alien to my present surroundings. Thus my soul is not listening only to the words of a beloved sister in reading your letter, but also to memories and echoes of a former happy time whose images pass but rarely before my inner eye, like dim shadows. It is really astounding how quickly the memories of Germany diminish, how quickly the images fade that we brought with us. Yet it is only natural that they should—everything we meet, land and people, animals and plants, is new; not only native curiosity, but sheer necessity, force a man to get to know them, to learn to tell their good and bad sides, their advantages and shortcomings. Here civilization takes such strides ahead in one year as one cannot observe in a decade in Germany, and a person, and more particularly an immigrant, lives through several years' experience in one year—it is natural that the colorful images of the past fade. And it is good that it should be so. We are called to a new life on this new continent, and we who are no longer young [he was twenty-eight] have to go through a brief but hard schooling to train ourselves for it. Then new interests and purposes take shape which, following the general character of this country and its people, are aimed more at the practical and the material. And then, finally, we begin to "belong" [*"eingeburgert zu sein"*] here as citizens and can lead a life which, although less rich and varied and agreeably enjoyable than life in Germany, is still pleasant and worthy, and is undisturbed by the nuisance and the horrors of the political situation and the misery arising therefrom.

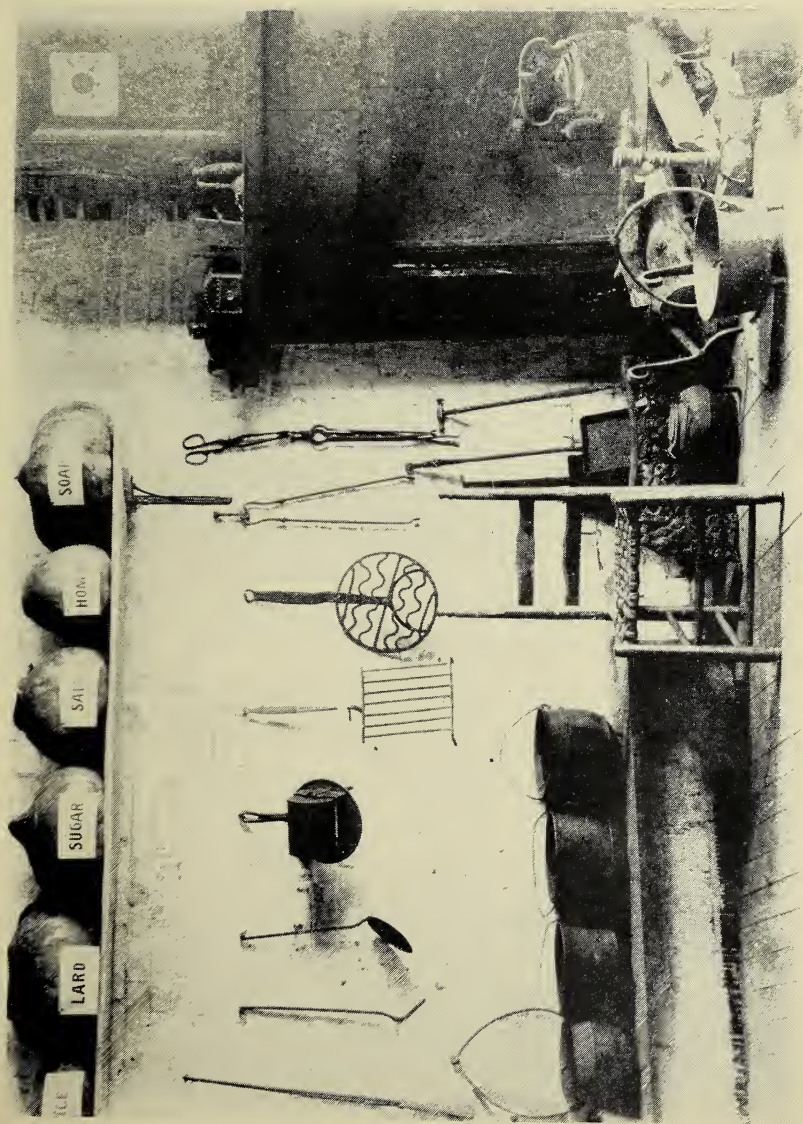
THE FOOD OF THE FRONTIER

BY EDWARD EVERETT DALE

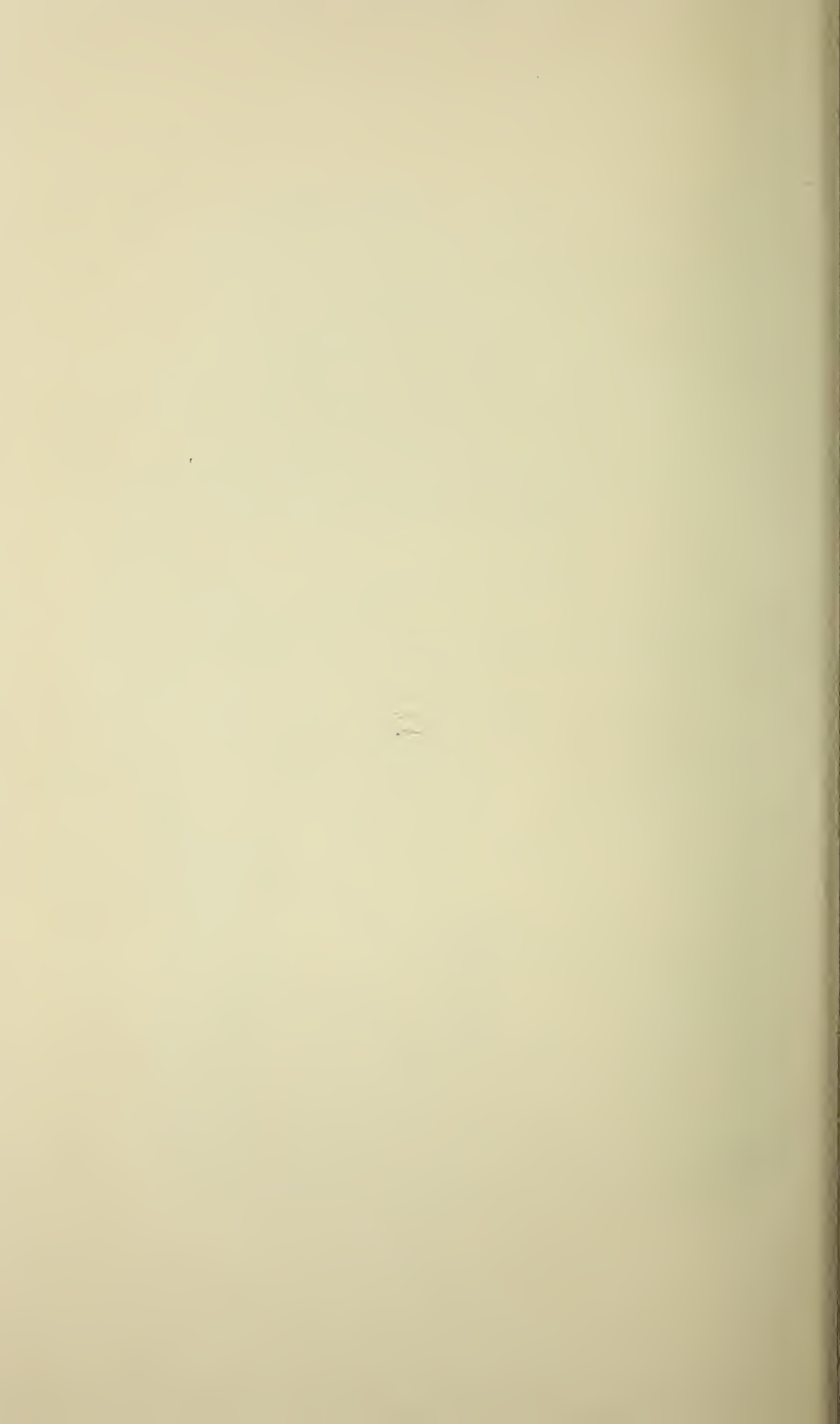
THOUGH food is the most fundamental of all human needs it varies widely among the different peoples of the world and is subject to numerous curious taboos and prejudices. "What's one man's poison . . . is another's meat or drink" seems to have a large element of truth. The Comanche and Kiowa Indians never ate the wild turkeys which swarmed along the streams of their homeland in such abundance. Yet they were very fond of dog stew, roasted terrapins, or the broiled entrails of buffalo and cattle. The French consider snails a great delicacy though the late Will Rogers once asserted that he himself "would really prefer grasshoppers."

Diet and dietary habits are, moreover, national or regional in their nature, and various peoples seem to be characterized by a certain article or articles of food. We have the rice of China, spaghetti of Italy, caviar of Russia, tortillas of Mexico, and sauerkraut and sausages of Germany. In our own country it is the same. It is commonly said that you "never know beans until you go to Boston." Baked beans, brown bread, and codfish cakes, however, are common throughout all New England, just as are fried chicken, spoon bread, and beaten biscuits in the South. Virginia has Smithfield ham and hominy grits, the Northwest coast has grilled salmon, Texas has borrowed from Mexico hot tamales and chile con carne, while beefsteak, apple pie, and ice cream are so universal as to be virtually national in scope.

Since the American frontier was essentially a region, the



PIONEER COOKING UTENSILS



food and food habits of its people were always much the same, whether it was the frontier of Piedmont, Virginia, in 1690, of Kentucky in 1790, or of Kansas and Oklahoma in 1890, subject only to such variations as might be due to climate, local resources, and the former homes of the pioneer settlers. Naturally, all of these had their various effects, and yet a study of the diet and cookery of all these pioneer peoples will reveal that they had striking similarities.

The first frontier in American history was along the Atlantic seaboard, for our earliest pioneers were those hardy souls who had sailed some three thousand miles westward to establish settlements at Jamestown or Plymouth. The little ships in which they came to America were too small to carry more than sufficient provisions for the trip, with only enough additional to subsist the crew on the homeward voyage. Any small surplus that might be left behind for the colonist was quickly consumed and the pioneers soon had to provide for themselves.

It was instantly apparent to these people that their eating habits must undergo a radical change and that their food, like the old gray mare, "was not what she used to be." The red roast beef, Yorkshire pudding, and kidney pie of "Merrie England" belonged to the past. In the future, their fare must be derived from such small crops as they might grow and the native products of the sea, stream, and forest.

For a people accustomed to pioneering these should have been ample. The forests abounded in game, the rivers and streams were teeming with fish, and oysters, crabs, and mussels were to be had everywhere along the coast. Blackberries, gooseberries, wild plums, grapes, persimmons, and several varieties of nuts were to be found in many places, but these early colonists were, in modern parlance, "tenderfeet" who knew little of how to sustain themselves under wilderness conditions. Virtually all of the earlier colonies imported food from Europe for twenty years after their arrival in America,

and it was not until a second generation had grown up that the English colonists had become sufficiently familiar with pioneer life to take full advantage of the food resources which the country afforded.

The settlers at Jamestown landed in May, at which time spring is far advanced in the latitude of Virginia. Despite the lateness of the season, however, they quickly spaded a plot of ground and sowed wheat—the grain with which they were most familiar. It grew amazingly and their hopes were high until they discovered that these rank stalks produced no grain. The Pilgrims at Plymouth were more fortunate in the growing of food. They had settled on the site of a former Indian village which had been ravaged a year or two before by pestilence—probably smallpox. Many of the former inhabitants had died and the remainder had fled in terror and established a new settlement some distance away. The Pilgrims inherited the little cornfields which lay about this former village and so had a considerable area of land already cleared and ready for cultivation. They had landed, moreover, in December, which gave ample time to prepare the ground for planting before winter was over. Also, Squanto and other friendly Indians visited the little settlement in the early spring and taught the colonists the best methods of planting and cultivating Indian corn which eventually became the chief breadstuff of New England. In consequence of the early use of corn, the friendly character of most of the Indians, and perhaps their close proximity to the sea, the people of New England, despite their more rigorous climate, did not suffer from famine to anything like the same degree as did the early settlers of Virginia. The latter usually established themselves on the banks of one of the broad, tidal rivers, at considerable distance from the ocean. In consequence they were not able to secure so much of their living from the sea as did the Northern colonists. In addition, the Indians of Virginia were often hostile and did not teach the whites their own primitive methods of agriculture, or the

utilization of the resources of the forest. In consequence, it was only after a long "starving time" and some years of hardship and misery that these Southern colonists at last learned how to utilize the abundance of the country's natural resources, to grow the proper crops, and began to be well fed and to develop some semblance of prosperity.

The change in food habits doubtless came hard for these people. Yet they eventually learned, though perhaps not as quickly as did the early inhabitants of New England. Later colonists landing on our shores must have been surprised by the strange dishes which the firstcomers set before them. Instead of roast beef or mutton chops they were offered venison, fried squirrel, or other wild game. Hominy or hoecake took the place of the wheat bread to which they were accustomed, and in lieu of tea they were given a strange brew made from sassafras. Plum pudding was non-existent, but as a substitute they were given Indian pudding made of corn meal and molasses cooked together, with possibly the addition of a few of the rare imported raisins or currants. Probably not many of them liked this fare at first, but in time they, too, became accustomed to it even though their mouths no doubt often watered at the memory of some of their favorite dishes of by-gone days.

So long as the colonists remained in fairly close proximity to the sea, a large part of their living was not only derived from the ocean itself but there was always the possibility of securing at least some small quantity of imported foods. Fish of various kinds—oysters, clams, crabs, and lobsters—were common on the tables of those dwelling near salt water. There were, in addition, importations of sugar, tea, cheese, butter, spices, wines and liquors, and at times salt or pickled beef or pork as well as marmalade, jam, and jellies. Such articles were too expensive for the poorer people but the well-to-do planters apparently consumed huge quantities of imported wines and liquors and some of the more bulky food products.

As the years went by, however, and population steadily advanced westward beyond the fall line of the rivers into the Piedmont or into the interior of New England, the western settlers found themselves remote from any food supply either from overseas or from the sea itself. In consequence, they had to depend almost entirely upon the resources of the forest and the crops which they could grow for themselves. Before the dawn of the eighteenth century there was a distinct West in the American colonies—a definite frontier so regarded by the people of the seaboard. Here prevailed American food and food habits little touched by European influences. By the time of the American Revolution settlers had crossed the mountains and begun to occupy Kentucky and Tennessee. After the close of that struggle the westward advance was much more rapid. The purchase of Louisiana added a vast new region and the peopling of the present states of Arkansas and Missouri soon began and rapidly grew in volume. By this time the old Northwest was fairly well settled by a frontier population, and settlements were made in Iowa, Michigan, and eastern Texas. In all of these regions the hardy frontiersmen lived in much the same fashion and their food was distinctly similar, subject only to such variations as the resources of each particular region made necessary and modified somewhat by the traditional customs, likes, and dislikes, in the matter of diet, due to environment in their earlier homeland in the East.

In advance of actual settlers always went those vanguards of the frontier—the trappers, traders, and hunters. Most of these were men without wives and families and their food was of a peculiarly “masculine nature.” Living among the Indians or in close proximity to them, some of them married Indian wives and, to a greater or less extent, “went native” in diet as in everything else. Such men, however, were few in number and may be disregarded in this particular study which deals primarily with those people who journeyed west to establish homes and develop a raw and untamed land.

Most of the regions mentioned were wooded, or at least partially so, though there were areas of prairie land especially in the Northwest and to some extent in the regions farther south. Throughout the frontier area the basic vegetable food was Indian corn. It was easy to grow and harvest, and it yielded a large quantity of grain which could be utilized in a wide variety of ways. Also, it matured quickly; the ears of the dwarf varieties were sometimes ready for boiling within sixty days of the time of planting. By making several plantings a week or ten days apart green corn could be had on the table over a very considerable period of time. Once it had passed the "roasting ear" stage but was still not hard enough to grind, it could be grated by hand to make what the pioneers called "gritted bread" which was particularly delicious.

Green corn was cooked in a variety of ways. The most common was by boiling the ears in a pot after the husks and silks had been removed, though some preferred to boil or roast it in the husk. Also, it was cut from the cob with a sharp knife and seasoned with milk or butter or fried in a little pork or bacon fat. An especially delectable dish was obtained by slitting each row of kernels in the center with a sharp knife, scraping out the pulp, and frying it in butter. This involved some time and effort but the result was well worth it.

After the corn had matured and been harvested, it furnished the staple bread supply of most families for the year. Hominy was made by boiling the shelled corn in a weak lye (made from wood ashes) until the husks had been loosened and could be rubbed off by hand. The corn was then taken from the lye, washed several times in cold water, and put in a stone jar and stored in a cool place. It was fried in bacon fat for breakfast, boiled with the addition of milk and butter for dinner, and was frequently warmed up for supper. It furnished an excellent substitute for bread as well as for the various types of breakfast food in use today, and when properly made and cooked was one of the most palatable and nourish-

ing of foods in the frontier diet.

For pounding corn into meal the Indians utilized a mortar, made by hollowing out a section of a tree trunk, and a pestle made from hickory or some other hard wood. The white settlers sometimes did the same but it was not long until grist-mills for grinding corn were common throughout the frontier. Power was usually furnished by a water wheel and many old-time pioneers still solemnly assert that meal ground by a water mill makes far superior bread to that ground by steam. There was also the endless argument over the relative merits of white and yellow corn meal. Taking "a turn of corn" to mill was one of the regular duties of nearly every pioneer lad, the expression doubtless originating from the fact that everyone had to wait his turn to get his corn ground. The miller, in most cases, derived his pay from a toll taken for every bushel ground and so usually had meal to sell and would exchange it for corn when the customer was impatient or too busy to wait. This was seldom the case, however, for going to mill furnished an opportunity for social contacts with the neighbors, and the men and boys waiting their turn had ample time to exchange gossip and swap stories. Those who tended to grow impatient could relieve their minds by sarcastic remarks as to the slowness of the grinding operations.

South of the future Mason and Dixon line and in many areas north of it, corn bread was literally the staff of life of most frontier settlers. The simplest form was made by salting the meal and scalding it with sufficient boiling water to make a thick dough. This was made out in small cakes and fried to a golden brown in hot fat. These fried cakes were commonly called "corn dodgers" or, in the deep South, were sometimes known as "hush puppies." Larger cakes of corn meal were sometimes baked in a Dutch oven. This form of bread was originally called "journey cake" because the housewife would bake a supply of it for her husband to take with him if he must go on a journey. This term was later corrupted into "johnny-

cake." Baked in the ashes, or on a hot stone or hoe, the bread was known as "ashcake" or "hoecake."

Mush was made by stirring meal in boiling water which had been lightly salted. It was eaten with milk; "mush and milk" were almost as well-known frontier articles of diet as were "hog and hominy." Any mush left over was poured into a bowl and the following morning was cut into thick slices and fried in hot fat for breakfast. It was usually eaten with syrup or honey, as were also the corn griddle cakes. When milk was available, corn bread was made with sour milk and soda and baked in a Dutch oven or, after the coming of cook-stoves, in long, black pans. People in the North often put sugar in corn bread, which the Southerners have always asserted was one of the primary causes of the Civil War!

Despite the almost universal use of corn bread on the frontier, virtually every family kept at least a small supply of flour on hand and had wheat bread at times. The ratio of wheat to corn bread used, however, varied widely. Some people, especially in the upland South, were satisfied with biscuits for Sunday morning breakfast and upon such other occasions as they might have guests at a meal. Others demanded wheat bread, usually biscuits, for breakfast every morning, while still others insisted upon it at least twice a day. In some sections of the North, and particularly in the prairie West where wheat was the staple crop, bread made from wheat flour was the standard type and corn bread was served only once or twice a week.

Throughout the South, biscuits formed the standard staff of life and bread made with yeast, commonly called "light bread," was very exceptional. The "beaten biscuits" of Virginia and some other parts of the Old South were, however, seldom seen on the frontier. Ordinarily biscuits were made with sour milk and soda. At their best, when baked to a rich brown, with crisp crust and flaky interior, "buttermilk biscuits" were almost the last word in food. Unfortunately they

were often tough, pale blue in color, and streaked with soda. In such cases, when a plate of them was said to "look like a gang of terrapins a-comin'," they were about as poor a makeshift for bread as could be imagined. Every housewife was known by her biscuits, which probably had a wider degree of individuality than any other article of food. Baking powder, commonly called "yeast powders," came into use comparatively late and was never popular since biscuits made from it were thought to be not healthful as a regular diet.

The Cow Country and some other sections of the frontier specialized in "sour dough" biscuits. These were made by stirring flour into warm water to which a little sugar had been added. The resulting dough or batter, made as thick as it could be stirred with a wooden paddle, was set aside in a warm place until it had soured and risen to twice its original bulk. Flour was sifted into an earthen bowl or wooden bread tray, a hole made in the center, and this sour dough poured into it. Half a teaspoonful of soda dissolved in a little water was added, together with salt and a little lard, and the flour was then worked in from the side to make a stiff dough which was kneaded vigorously on a bread board for several minutes. Another method was to sprinkle the dry soda on top of the sour dough after it had been poured into the sifted flour. It was sometimes difficult by this method, however, to keep from having soda streaks or spots in the biscuits. Pieces of the dough were then pinched off and made out into small round balls which were placed in a well-greased Dutch oven, turned over once to give the top a coating of grease, and set near the fire to rise for thirty minutes before baking. Properly made, sour dough biscuits are delicious, but while a staple among the frontier men-cooks, they were never popular with housewives except the few that were to be found on ranches in the Cow Country or in the mining camps.

Biscuits were not common in the northern zone of frontier settlement. Here the staple food was yeast bread, usually baked

two or three times a week. Packages of dry yeast cakes could sometimes be bought at the country store but most housewives preferred to make their own. This was done by boiling dry hops purchased at the store and adding to the water two or three boiled potatoes well mashed, a cake of yeast from the last batch made, and sufficient corn meal to make a thick dough. This was rolled out about half an inch thick and cut into round cakes which were dried slowly in the shade. When hops were lacking, peach tree leaves might be used as a substitute.

Bread was made by dissolving one of these yeast cakes in warm water and adding flour to make a very thick batter or sponge. This was allowed to rise overnight and flour was then added to make a dough which was well kneaded and set in a warm place to rise. It was then "worked down" and made into loaves which were placed in pans and allowed to rise again before baking. Some housewives made "salt rising bread" and its peculiar fragrance always hung about their kitchens. Other forms of food made from wheat flour especially in the North, were griddle cakes, muffins, doughnuts, fritters, and popovers. Buckwheat cakes were also common and nearly every housewife had her own particular recipe.

One of the first tasks of virtually every frontier settler was to plan and plant a garden in order to furnish his family with an ample supply of vegetables. These were of many kinds, including beans, peas, squashes, pumpkins, radishes, mustard, lettuce, carrots, beets, onions, turnips, cabbage, potatoes, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, melons, and several others. Tomatoes, formerly called "love apples," were in early days thought to be poisonous but were occasionally grown as ornamental plants because of the beauty of the bright red fruit. It was some years before it was learned that they are a wholesome article of food and they became a commonly grown vegetable on the American frontier.

Pending the growth of a garden, the pioneer settler must

depend upon such native products as were available for fresh vegetable food but these were often of considerable variety. The Indians consumed quantities of wild onions of which they were very fond, but these were seldom eaten by the white settlers. Yet, there were many wild products which were widely utilized, including several kinds of "wild greens" such as lamb's quarter, "poke salad," dandelions, and two or three varieties of dock. Boiled with a piece of salt pork, any of these furnished a tasty and satisfying food and, while the pioneers had never heard of vitamins, such wild pottage was regarded as conducive to health and in addition furnished a welcome change from the dry or salt food which had been the ordinary diet of the winter months.

Once garden vegetables were available the pioneer usually had an ample supply of fresh vegetable food throughout the summer and early autumn. Mustard, spinach, turnip tops, cabbage, and collards took the place of the "wild greens." Green peas, commonly called "English peas," were boiled with new potatoes with the addition of a lump of butter and half a cup of milk into which had been stirred a spoonful of flour. String beans and potatoes were also boiled together with a slab of salt pork. Potatoes were cooked in a variety of ways and sweet potatoes were roasted in the ashes or boiled. In some cases, raw sweet potatoes were cut in thick slices and fried for breakfast. Squashes were baked in the shell or cut into pieces and stewed with the addition of a little sugar. Turnips and cabbage were boiled with salt pork. Radishes, lettuce, and spring onions were eaten raw and mature onions fried in butter or pork fat. Also onions, boiled beets, and raw cucumbers were sliced and covered with vinegar, and boiled beets were often sliced and buttered.

The pioneer settlers usually put away large quantities of vegetables for winter use. Green corn was boiled, cut from the cob, and dried in the sun. Beans and peas were shelled when dry and put in sacks to be hung from the rafters of the smoke-

house. Potatoes, sweet potatoes, turnips, beets, cabbage, and pumpkins were stored in a "root cellar" or merely piled up in heaps in the field or garden and covered, first with hay, then with a thick layer of earth to prevent their freezing. Slices of peeled pumpkin were commonly dried in the sun and long strings of onions hung up in the smokehouse, shed room, or cellar. Remote from markets, and with virtually no "money crop," the pioneer could concentrate each summer on the problem of providing an adequate supply of food for his family during the coming winter.

Lack of fruit proved a considerable hardship to many pioneer settlers, especially on the western prairies, though this was true to a somewhat less degree even in the wooded regions of the earlier frontier. Orchards and vineyards are of comparatively slow growth, usually requiring some years to come into full bearing. In the meantime, the settler must depend upon wild fruits and berries, or such fruit substitutes as could be grown in a single season. In the forested areas, wild grapes and plums of several varieties were abundant. In addition, there were often blackberries, dewberries, strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, currants, papaws, and persimmons. These were eaten fresh, stewed, or made into pies and cobblers during the time they were in season, and made into preserves, jams, or jellies for winter use if sugar or even syrup could be had, but the supply of sugar was often very scanty. The wild berry bushes or vines were also dug up and transplanted to a plot of ground in the garden to form a "berry patch." In addition, virtually every settler sought to "put out an orchard" just as soon as possible. Peach seeds were brought from the old home, planted thickly in rows, and when the young trees were a year old they were transplanted to the ground set aside for the orchard. Some men were adept at grafting or budding better varieties of fruit upon these original stocks though many seedling peaches were excellent in quality. A few young apple, pear, plum, or cherry trees were sometimes brought from

the old homeland in the original migration, the roots packed in moist earth and carefully wrapped in coarse cloth on which water was poured each night during the journey. If the settler did not find it possible to take a few fruit trees with him to the West he might order some through the traveling agent of some nursery in the East or select them from a catalogue and order by mail. Difficulties of shipment were frequently great, however, and moreover, few pioneer settlers had enough money to purchase very many trees, so the orchards usually remained small for several years.

There is the classic folk tale of "Johnny Appleseed," an old itinerant who traveled about throughout the American frontier, stopping for the night with pioneer families and claiming a "right of purveyance" by virtue of little packages of apple seeds which he dispensed freely in a thousand households. A generation ago some apple trees still to be seen in the Middle West were said to have been grown from seed furnished by this half-legendary character.

Substitutes for orchard fruits were melons, rhubarb, tomatoes, after they came into general use, pumpkins, and, on the far western prairies, several varieties of vines producing yellow globular fruits known as "pomegranates," or "poor man's apples." Quantities of delicious watermelons were grown. From the rinds were made preserves, and sweet pickles, and if the garden did not afford cucumbers a substitute was found in tiny green melons pickled in vinegar. "Pumpkin butter" was a fair substitute for apple butter, and a marmalade was sometimes made from the flesh of cantaloupes or muskmelons. Citron melons and pie melons were used both for pies and preserves. Tomato preserves were also common, and rhubarb was used in lieu of apples both for pies and sauce. Once the orchards came into bearing, ample fruit was usually available for every purpose and a supply of peaches and apples was dried in the sun for winter use.

With the coming of the so-called "self-sealing" glass fruit

jars every family sought to can a quantity of fruit each season. These jars were too expensive, however, for the average frontier householder to be able to afford more than a few dozen at most. It is an interesting commentary on the size of pioneer families that every frontier housewife insisted upon half-gallon jars, asserting that the quart size did not hold enough to go more than half way around in serving her family. Yet, the modern housewife virtually always demands either pint or quart jars, usually the former, and the half-gallon size has almost disappeared from the market except in a few localities.

While the various vegetable foods that have been mentioned were all fairly common on some portion of the frontier, it must not be assumed that the pioneer settler was in any sense a vegetarian. America has always been a nation of meat eaters, and it is doubtful if any section of our country has ever consumed a greater quantity of animal food per capita of population than did the western frontier. The American colonists brought domestic animals and poultry from England very early and these increased rapidly under the favorable conditions of range and climate. As settlement advanced westward, most pioneers took with them cattle, hogs, chickens, and in some cases sheep or goats, though neither of the last named were numerous on the greater part of the American frontier, especially in the South, until the Far West had been reached. In the wooded areas, fields and gardens were enclosed, at first with brush and later with rail fences, and cattle and hogs ranged outside. While the number of such animals was not large at first, the increase, particularly of hogs, was very rapid, six to ten pigs in a litter being the usual number. In consequence, it was not long until virtually every settler had an ample number of hogs to supply his family with meat and lard, and enough cows to provide sufficient milk and butter.

Pending this time, however, the pioneer must secure a meat supply from the forest. This was seldom very difficult. In the early stages of settlement, game was usually abundant

on most parts of the American frontier. This consisted of deer, turkeys, squirrels, rabbits, wild pigeons, grouse, quail, ducks and geese in some localities, and in the Far West antelope and elk. The countless buffalo which roamed the Great Plains had largely been destroyed before the coming of actual settlers to that region and so did not figure in the food supply of many people, except the Indians, trappers, mountain men, and other vanguards of the Far Western frontier region.

Virtually every pioneer settler was more or less a hunter, and the same was true of all his sons above the age of ten or twelve years. Venison was often a staple article of food in the frontier home, and deer hams were hung up and cured for winter use. Fried quail, rabbit, and squirrel commonly appeared on the table, as did squirrel stew, pigeon or quail potpie, and roast duck, goose, or turkey. Gradually the game disappeared, however, due to the ever-growing influx of settlers; but by the time it had become scarce the domestic animals had increased sufficiently to provide an ample supply of meat. After this, hunting declined as a serious business and became more of a sport or avocation. Yet in the absence of fresh meat during the greater part of the year, an occasional mess of quails, or squirrels, or a wild turkey made a most acceptable addition to the pioneer's ordinary fare. After the first few years, however, the staple meat of the frontier settler and his family was pork and its various products as ham, bacon, and sausage.

Pigs were "earmarked" when quite young so that each man might distinguish his own animals from those of his neighbors. Ranging at large in the woods, they fattened largely on the "mast" which was the general term for nuts and acorns. Perhaps this took a long time, but in the language of the Arkansas settler: "What is time to a hog?" It was customary, however, if at all possible, to call them up each evening and feed them a little corn or slops from the kitchen. This was designed, in the frontier vernacular, to "ha'nt 'em home" or

attach them to the dwelling of their owner. This enabled him to see them each day, and also the additional food kept them growing faster and in a thriving condition. If sufficient corn had been grown, those designated for slaughter were confined in a pen for six weeks or more in the autumn and fed liberally on grain until they were fat enough to be butchered.

"Hog killing time," usually late in November, was a more or less gala occasion, especially for the children of the family. The meat was cut into hams, shoulders, and "middlings" or sides. These were carefully trimmed and "salted down" in barrels or large wooden boxes. The scraps trimmed away were ground into sausage which was seasoned with salt, pepper, and sage, and stuffed into long narrow sacks made of cloth to be hung in the smokehouse. Some preferred to pack the sausage in stone jars and pour melted lard on top of it. Others made the sausage into cakes which were fried, packed in jars, and covered with melted lard. The more usual method, however, was to pack it in sacks, but in the absence of material to make them it might be wrapped in cornhusks and hung in the smokehouse or "shed room." Hog killing also involved "rendering out" the lard, and the making of "souse" or head cheese. The liver, heart, backbones, and spareribs were eaten fresh and were often shared with some of the neighbors. Since people killed hogs at different times this mutual exchange of a surplus usually provided everyone in the community with fresh pork at intervals during a period of several weeks.

Methods of cooking fresh pork varied. Backbones were usually boiled, spareribs cut across three or four times and either fried or sprinkled with salt, pepper, and flour and baked in the oven. Pigs' feet were cleaned and boiled until very tender. They were then cut in two and either pickled in hot vinegar to which spices had been added, or dipped in batter and fried in hot fat. Sausage would keep for weeks or months. It was sliced in thick round slices or made into cakes and fried for breakfast. Many a man reared on the frontier can still

remember the savory "sagey" odor of frying sausage which greeted him upon awakening in the morning and which proved the chief incentive to his rolling out of his warm bed into the icy cold of his sleeping quarters in the upstairs of a frontier farm home.

After some weeks, when the pork packed in barrels or boxes had thoroughly "taken salt," it was removed, and surplus salt was washed off, and the cut sides of the hams and shoulders rubbed with a mixture of black pepper and molasses. The meat was then hung up in the smokehouse and thoroughly smoked with hickory wood or chips. Sometimes the "side meat" was smoked to form bacon, but a part of it was often left in salt to be used as dry salt pork. The cured hams and shoulders would keep indefinitely though the bacon or "mid-dlings" sometimes tended to get strong before the end of the following summer.

Salt pork or bacon was fried, boiled with beans, greens, or cabbage, or in the North, baked with beans. Ham or shoulder was fried, boiled, or baked, but the hams were likely to be reserved largely for "company" or for Sunday dinners and other special occasions unless a sufficient number of hogs had been killed to make it possible to sell some of the "side meat" and retain the extra hams and shoulders for use at home.

Except during the hog-killing season, fresh meat was more or less a rarity in most frontier homes, though someone in the community would occasionally kill a beef and "peddle out" the meat among his neighbors. Scientific methods of meat cutting were unknown. It was merely cut into chunks and sold, the hindquarter usually being one cent a pound higher than the forequarter. "How much do you get for your beef?" was the first question asked when a peddler's wagon appeared. "Six and seven cents" was likely to be the answer, though at times it might be as high as seven and eight or as low as three and four cents a pound.

On the frontier, beefsteak was almost never broiled. It

was cut in slices, pounded with a mallet or the edge of a heavy plate or saucer, and then rolled in flour and fried in hot suet. Large cuts containing some bone were boiled, or sprinkled with flour and baked in the oven. After being served at one meal, what was left was sliced and served cold, or cut into small pieces and stewed with chopped potatoes and onions to form Irish stew or hash. With such an abundant supply of pork, ham, and bacon, together with some fresh beef from time to time, and the occasional use of game, it is not surprising that meat constituted a large part of the diet of the average pioneer settler. In fact, so much was consumed as to give rise to the old folk tale of the illiterate Irishman who had newly come to America and asked a friend to write a letter for him to send to his family in the Old Country. "Tell them," said he, "that here in America we have meat three times a week." "Why not say three times a day?" asked his friend. "Faith, no! It's no use to tell them that," was the answer. "They wouldn't believe it but would swear I was lyin'. Make it three times a week and maybe they might believe me."

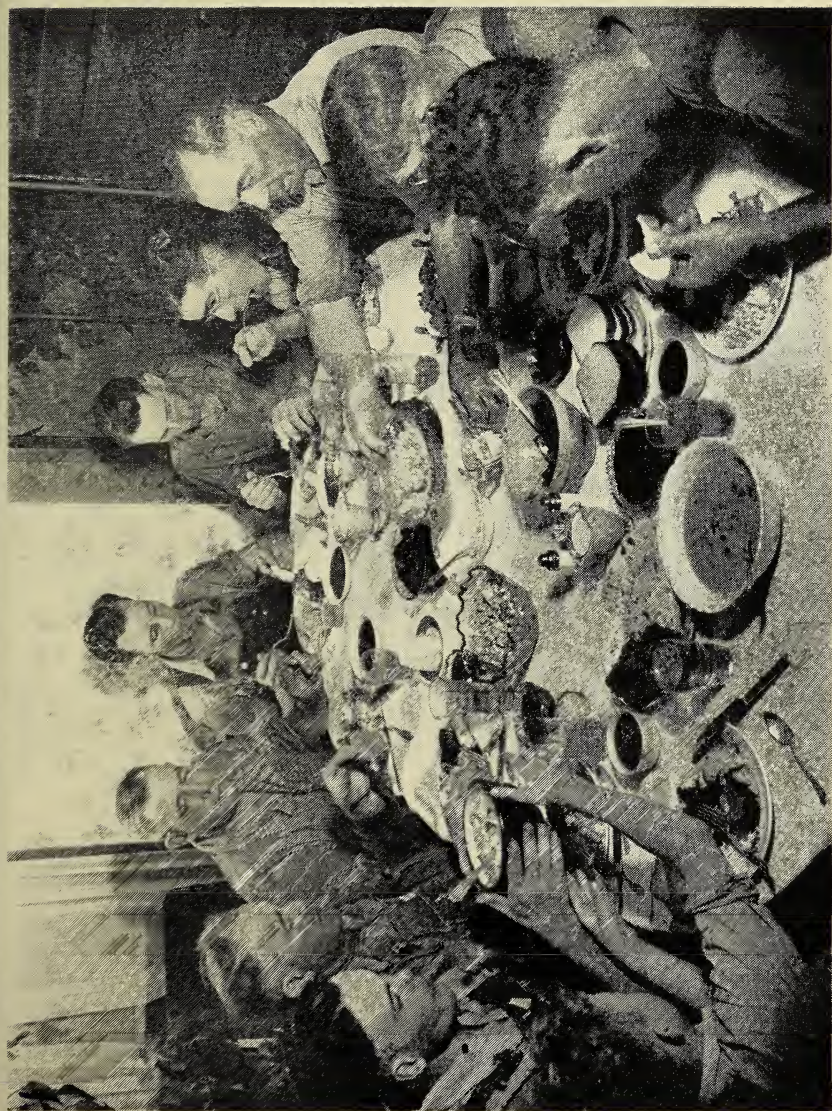
Few frontier families considered a dessert necessary to the completion of a meal, except on Sunday or in case "company" was present. At other times the syrup pitcher was placed on the table three times a day and each meal was likely to be "topped off" with sorghum or some other form of syrup. Sorghum mills were usually more numerous than gristmills, and many settlers would grow a patch of sorghum which, when ripe, was cut and hauled to the mill to be ground and the juice boiled down into sorghum "on the shares."

Despite the frequent absence of any form of dessert, the average pioneer housewife was skilled in making pies, cakes, and gingerbread. Cobblers were also made from peaches, blackberries, or sweet potatoes, and fried pies known in the North as "turnovers" were common during the winter season. These were made by lining a saucer with "pie dough" which was not too rich and placing dried apples or peaches which had been

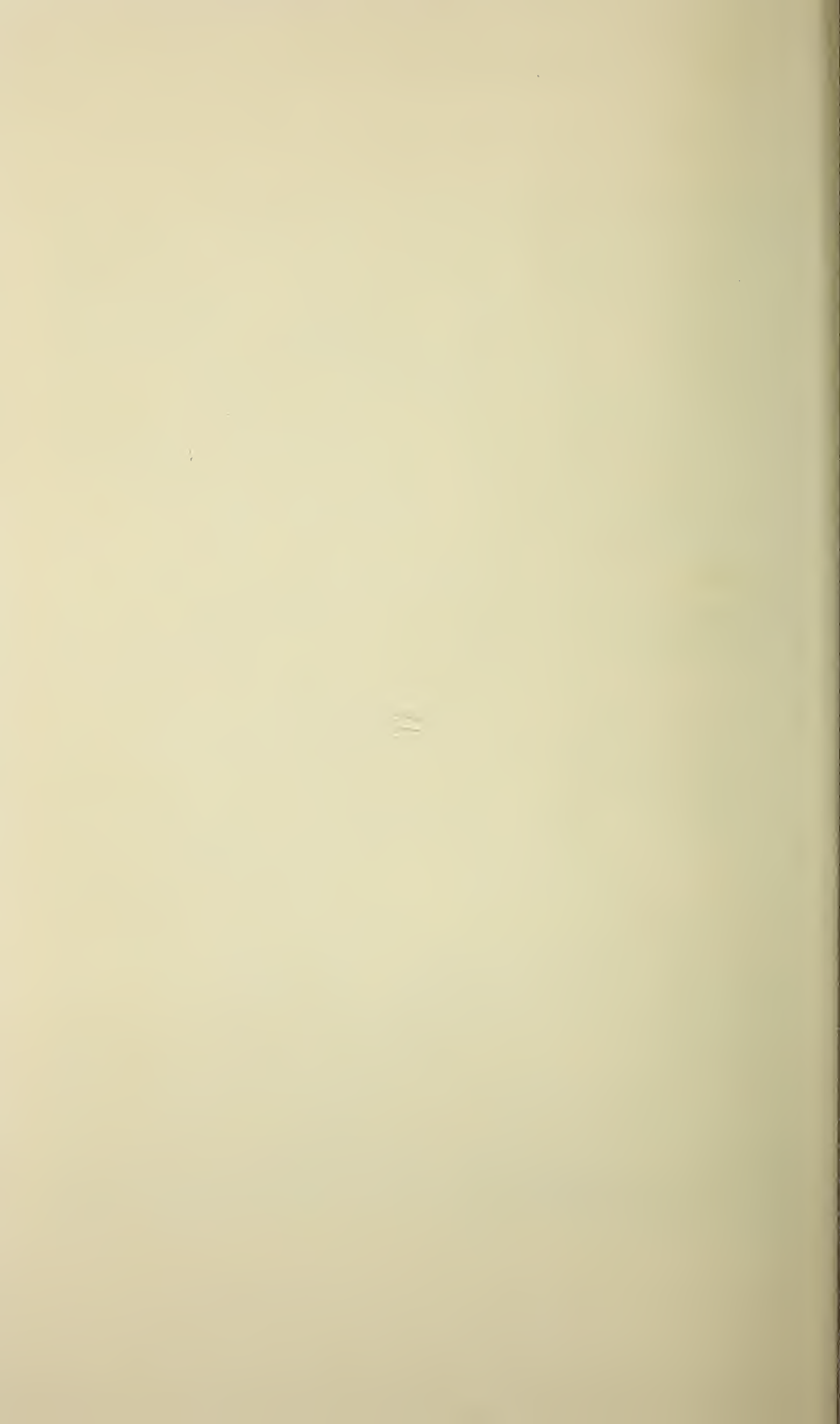
stewed and crushed to a pulp on one side. The edge of the dough was then moistened all around so that the edges would stick together and the flap of dough folded over the fruit and the edges firmly pressed together. These half-moon shaped "pies" were then fried to a rich brown in deep fat and served hot. Properly made, they were delicious even if a somewhat heavy food. Children were usually very fond of them and were happy when one or two were placed in their lunch baskets or the "dinner buckets" that they carried to school.

In most frontier homes Sunday dinner, especially "company" occasions, was an event to be long remembered. Fried chicken with cream gravy, or stewed chicken with dumplings was likely to be the central dish. Moreover, the chicken was not a "cold storage corpse" but was likely to have been running about on foot only a few hours before being served at the table. At some dinners, fried ham with red gravy might take the place of chicken. In any case there were likely to be three or four fresh vegetables in addition to radishes and green onions, hot biscuits, corn bread, pie or cobbler made from peaches or blackberries, coffee, buttermilk (which had been cooled in the spring or by lowering a jug of it into the well by means of a long rope), jelly, preserves, freshly churned butter, and perhaps several other dishes. Many an old-timer looks back to such dinners with a wistful feeling of regret and is willing to swear that they were far better than any he ever ate in a fashionable restaurant or hotel.

Despite the ability of the average frontier housewife, in times of plenty, to place before her family and guests a sumptuous feast, not a few of them had a facility, amounting almost to genius, for preparing, in times of stress, tasty and satisfying meals from the most meager resources. This could not have been easy, for there was far less differentiation between the three daily meals than is true at present. The midday meal, always known as "dinner," was usually the most substantial of the three, but all must be heavy. Orange juice, toast, and coffee



DINNER FOR THRESHERS



is no sort of breakfast for the man who must split rails, or follow a plow from sunup until noon. The pioneer settler demanded at least hot biscuits, meat, fried potatoes, gravy, syrup, and coffee.

In the most lean periods, however, his wife was generally equal to every emergency. Salt pork was often parboiled, rolled in flour, and fried to give a welcome change from the ordinary side meat. Gravy was made by stirring a spoonful of flour into a little hot bacon grease, adding milk, and boiling until it was thick and creamy. It was a staple, not only at breakfast for it often appeared on the table at other meals as well. Made in the fat in which chicken or beefsteak had been fried, it had a delicious flavor, but in any case it had nearly all the elements of a perfect food. Commonly called "hush puppy gravy" it was an almost universal article of diet among the pioneers. Thousands of children grew to manhood and womanhood and always remained strong and healthy on a diet consisting very largely of corn bread, bacon, gravy, syrup, and buttermilk, with fresh vegetables from the garden in season.

Faced with the necessity of improvising, the frontier housewife often showed rare ingenuity in matters of food. Lacking fruit, she baked a vinegar pie. This was made by mixing half a cupful of vinegar with a quart of water and adding sugar to taste. A lump of butter the size of an egg was then melted in a pan and a heaping teaspoonful of flour stirred into it. To this was added the tangy vinegar mixture, a little at a time, stirring it vigorously all the while until it had boiled sufficiently long to begin to thicken. The mixture was then poured into a piepan lined with a rich crust and additional strips of dough were "criss crossed" over the top. Bits of butter were sprinkled over these crossbars, and the pie was then baked in a hot oven. It came out with the crust a deep brown and the filling reduced to the consistency of jelly. To serve a considerable number of persons the quantity of the mixture was merely increased and baked in a long pan. This

formed something in the nature of a fruit cobbler and was sometimes called "vinegarone."

"Butter roll" was made of a rich biscuit dough which was rolled thin and sprinkled thickly with sugar and small lumps of butter. It was then rolled up and baked to a rich brown in a hot oven. Pies were also made from rhubarb, pie melons, squash, pumpkin, green tomatoes, green grapes, and even the fleshy acid leaves of the wild sheep sorrel. Nearly always, however, the housewife was faced with the problem of a shortage of sugar and, in many cases, honey, sorghum, or some other form of syrup, must be used as a substitute. Fortunately, there was usually an ample supply of milk, butter, and eggs and these helped vastly in preparing good meals even when other resources were pitifully scanty.

In few parts of America did frontier conditions persist for more than one or two generations. With the steady growth of population, the trails over which the pioneer emigrants journeyed west were widened to broad highways. Attractive farm homes replaced the former log cabins or sod houses. Towns and cities grew up. Differentiations in the social classes began to appear. Gradually the old order disappeared, and in its place came civilization, and the sophistication that is associated with urban life, while new frontier regions appeared farther west. One by one these, too, disappeared until about the dawn of the present century we came to the end of a great historic movement, and the frontier and pioneer conditions in America vanished forever. Only in a few remote areas among the hills and mountains, or in regions too remote to support any considerable population, may still be found a life strongly reminiscent of that of generations past.

With the advance of civilization, the food and dietary habits of the former pioneer, like everything else in his life, underwent a violent change. Railroads penetrating every part of the country brought in products from all over the world. Bananas, grapefruit, pineapples, avocados, oranges, lemons,

celery, and a multitude of other fruits and vegetables formerly never seen on the average family's table became abundant. The canning industry grew enormously, and America, both urban and rural, began to live largely from tin cans. Tea, coffee, sugar, and flour became abundant and cheap. The growth of the packing industry and the general use of refrigerator cars made fresh meat readily available to every householder. The use of ice or electric refrigeration became well nigh universal, making it possible to keep indefinitely foods that were formerly considered highly perishable. Frozen fruits, vegetables, and fish became available in virtually every town or village. The farmer, quick to realize how easy it had become to purchase in town nearly everything required for feeding his family, tended to give up his efforts to produce a food supply from his own land and to devote his energies largely to the growing of one or two money crops. Smokehouses and well filled cellars largely disappeared. The farmer's smokehouse was too often in Chicago or Kansas City, his garden and orchard in California. Some still sought to derive a large part of their subsistence from the farm itself, but the tendency was in the other direction. Moreover, the steady drift of people to towns and cities eventually resulted in a vastly increased ratio of urban to rural population.

After a long period of steady growth toward civilization and sophistication a natural reaction followed. Numerous people began to look back to the old-time days and ways with a certain nostalgic longing. A craze for antique furniture, early American glass and china, hooked rugs, and handwoven coverlets swept over the country. Antique dealers ranged the back country, visiting remote little homes in the hills and mountains, eagerly seeking wares for their shelves. Wealthy women, prominent in their local social circles, made the rounds of these dealers' shops and attended auctions, returning laden with dearly bought loot which they proudly displayed to admiring friends. Square dances came into vogue and a million

radios gave out "mountain music" or the stirring strains from the violins of competitors in old fiddlers' contests. Well-to-do businessmen acquired cabins, hunting lodges, and fishing shacks deep in the woods or beside some lonely mountain stream. To these they repaired as often as possible to "rough it" for a week-end or longer, cooking over a fireplace or wood stove enormous meals of plain, simple food not unlike that which formed the regular diet of the pioneers of a past generation. With appetites sharpened by the open air and strenuous exercise, they ate ravenously and were ready to swear that nothing served at home, the club, or any hotel or restaurant ever tasted half so good. Their wives at home began to exchange old family recipes and at times to prepare some old-fashioned dish of their grandmothers' time.

A movement in the direction of some simplification of our diet was already under way before the outbreak of the recent war. Once we had been forced into the world-wide conflict, the growing scarcity of household help, mounting taxes, and the desire to participate to the fullest extent in war effort by the purchase of war bonds and savings stamps, made greater simplicity in the matter of food absolutely necessary.

Then came the universal rationing of sugar, coffee, canned goods, meats, and most other food products, bringing to everyone a realization that the old days of abundance were over and causing many to fear that our food supply might be insufficient even for our barest needs, resulting in undernourishment and even actual hunger for many people. Certainly it had become clear that we must adjust ourselves to a new situation and greatly change the food habits practiced in time of plenty.

Now that the conflict is over, it seems logical for us to continue a movement which the exigencies of war made absolutely necessary. With the world facing a shortage of food, and with little or no "kitchen help" available to the average housewife, common sense would seem to dictate that we should not return to the elaborate meals of the flush period before the

depression. Knowing as we do that hungry children all over the world are eagerly asking America for bread, may it not be worth while to give some study to the food habits of our pioneer forebears who were able to provide so much from such meager resources?

ILLINOIS IN 1946

BY S. A. WETHERBEE

January 1

The new drivers' safety responsibility law goes into effect. Under provisions of the statute, motorists involved in accidents resulting in injury or death must file a report with the State Division of Highways within twenty-four hours. In case of property damage alone the time limit is extended to ten days.

January 2

Dr. J. Walter Malone takes over his new duties as president of James Millikin University. He was a former vice-president of McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago.

January 3

John L. Nugent and his wife, Allyne V. Nugent, publishers of the *Lincoln Evening Courier*, receive the New York Museum of Science and Industry's first annual award for "America's foremost small town daily newspaper."

January 5

John Kasserman, former state representative from the forty-sixth district and assistant attorney general, dies at the age of seventy-six at his home in Newton, Illinois.

January 7

State Senator Louis E. Beckman dies at the age of sixty-nine at his home in Kankakee. President of the First Trust and Savings Bank of Kankakee, he had also served four terms as mayor of that city and was twice elected to the Illinois House of Representatives. He was serving his third term in the Illinois Senate.

January 11

A strike of telephone installation workers in two hundred cities greatly curtails long-distance calls over the nation.

January 13

Dr. Carl E. Black, author and practicing physician in Jacksonville for over fifty-eight years, dies suddenly at the age of eighty-three.

January 14

Pickets are withdrawn from telephone exchanges throughout the country, returning communications to normal.

January 16

Packing house workers go on strike. It is estimated that 263,000 workers—25,000 in the Chicago area—will take part in the walkout. The C.I.O. has demanded a wage increase of 7½ cents an hour. The A.F.L. demand is for a 15-cents an hour increase.

January 21

The walkout of 750,000 C.I.O. steel workers, the greatest strike in American history, starts today.

Thirty thousand International Harvester Company workers go on strike, 19,000 in the Chicago area.

January 22

Throughout the nation the number of workers idle due to labor disputes reaches 1,600,000 in the steel, meat packing, farm machinery, and electrical appliance industries.

January 24

President Truman orders formal seizure of the nation's meat packing plants at 12:01 A.M. on January 26. Strikers must return at pre-strike wages with permission to petition for a pay increase.

January 26

The Illinois School for the Deaf at Jacksonville observes its centennial today.

January 28

Strikers are now back on the job in the meat packing plants.

January 29

A special three-judge federal court in Chicago dismisses a suit to force reapportionment of Illinois congressional districts, but recommends a realignment on the basis of equality. The court holds that it has no jurisdiction to order a redistricting of the state.

January 30

From Kobe, Japan, it is announced that the Thirty-third ("Golden Cross") Army Division, former Illinois National Guard outfit, will be inactivated on February 5.

February 4

Silas H. Strawn, noted Chicago attorney, civic leader, and former president of the American Bar Association and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, dies in Palm Beach, Florida. Mr. Strawn was born in Ottawa, Illinois, on December 15, 1866.

February 5

Arthur Meeker, member of an old and prominent Chicago family and retired vice-president of Armour and Company dies at the age of seventy-nine.

February 8

John William O'Leary, manufacturer and banker, dies in Lake Forest at the age of seventy from injuries suffered in an automobile accident. He was a former president of both the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the Chicago Association of Commerce. In 1927 President Coolidge appointed him a delegate to the International Economic Conference at Geneva.

February 13

Rudolph H. Huschle of East St. Louis, formerly a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, dies at the age of sixty-three. He was elected to the legislature in 1930, 1932, and 1942.

Harold L. Ickes, last member of the original Roosevelt cabinet, resigns as Secretary of the Interior.

February 17

Thomas A. Boyer, a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1912 to 1918, dies in Chicago at the age of eighty. He was retired president of Tomkins-Summer Company.

February 18

Steel workers swarm back to work today to plants which have been idle for a month.

Archbishop Samuel A. Stritch of Chicago is made a cardinal by Pope Pius XII in ceremonies at the Vatican.

February 19

Judge Oscar Hebel of the Cook County Superior Court dies at the age of seventy-eight. He had been active in the political life of Chicago for over fifty years. His home was in Wilmette.

February 28

T. V. Smith, professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago, and George D. Stoddard, president-elect of the University of Illinois, are named as part of a group which will serve as educational advisers to General MacArthur in Tokyo.

March 2

Dr. Robert W. McEwen is inaugurated president of Blackburn College, succeeding Dr. William M. Hudson, who was president from 1912 to 1945. Dr. Hudson is now president emeritus.

March 9

Franklyn Bliss Snyder, president of Northwestern University, announces a vast expansion for medical research and instruction, which the University hopes to complete within twenty-five years. The cost will range from \$95,000,000 to \$150,000,000.

March 10

Harry H. Mason of Pawnee, a former newspaper publisher, dies at the age of seventy-two. He was a member of Congress from 1934 to 1936.

March 15

All government restrictions on railroad travel end today.

March 20

Announcement is made of through coast-to-coast sleeping car service to begin March 31. Under the plan sleeping cars will be switched in Chicago between the eastern and western carriers so that passengers will not have to leave their trains.

Dr. Frederick M. Smith, grandson of Joseph Smith, the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, dies in Independence, Missouri, at the age of seventy-two. Since 1915 he had been president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. He was born in Plano, Illinois.

March 25

The Illinois State Chamber of Commerce reveals that there are now 172 jobs open for each 100 unemployed persons.

March 27

Adjutant General Leo M. Boyle announces that Camp Ellis is to be the training camp for the Illinois National Guard when it is reorganized. The camp will be maintained as a federal military reservation under the control of the War Department.

March 29

Governor Dwight H. Green announces plans for Illinois Beach State Park—to extend from just north of Waukegan to Kenosha, Wisconsin.

James J. Barbour, state senator from 1916 to 1936 and representative from 1940 to 1942, dies at his home in Evanston at the age of seventy-six.

April 1

A nation-wide strike of the United Mine Workers begins.

April 5

Headquarters for the Navy and Marine Corps Air Reserve Training Command have been transferred from Washington, D. C., to the naval air station at Glenview, Captain J. M. Carson, commandant, announces.

April 6

President Truman speaks in Chicago at the Army Day celebration in Soldier Field.

Colonel Albert A. Sprague, a business and civic leader for more than forty years, dies at his home in Chicago at the age of sixty-nine.

William A. Wallace, state senator from 1938 to 1942, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-eight.

April 9

The following nominees are selected for three state offices at the primary election today: State Treasurer, Sam Keys, Democrat, and Richard Yates Rowe, Republican; Superintendent of Public Instruction, C. H. Engle, Democrat, and Vernon L. Nickell, Republican; Representative in Congress for the State at Large, Emily Taft Douglas, Democrat, and William G. Stratton, Republican.

April 11

The eighty-day strike of the International Harvester Company workers officially ends. The union won most of its demands. A week to ten days will be required before full production is under way.

April 25

The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad's streamlined "Exposition Flyer" crashes into the rear of the "Advance Flyer" at Naperville, where the "Advance Flyer" had made an unscheduled stop. The accident causes the deaths of forty-five persons and injures one hundred.

April 26

State conventions of both the Republican and Democratic parties are held in Springfield. Both sessions are perfunctory and adjourn until later dates.

Dr. James F. Percy, cancer specialist, dies in Los Angeles at the age of eighty-two. He practiced medicine in Galesburg from 1888 to 1917, was a founder-member of the American College of Surgeons and a past president of the Illinois State Medical Society.

Abner Field of Golconda, representative in the General Assembly since 1934, dies at the age of fifty-eight.

April 27

Richard Henry Little, a native of Le Roy, Illinois, dies at the age of seventy-six at his home in Hanover County, Virginia. From 1895 to 1936 he served on the staff of the *Chicago Tribune*, conducting the column "A Line o'Type or Two" for sixteen years.

April 30

A public hearing is held in Washington, D. C., before the War Department Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, to

consider objections to the Army Corps of Engineers' proposal for over \$90,000,000 worth of flood-control improvements to the Illinois River and its tributaries, including the Sangamon River.

May 1

Coal production in Illinois comes to a complete halt as the independent Progressive Mine Workers of America go on strike. The Illinois Commerce Commission orders drastic cuts in the use of electric power—a return to the “brownout” of war days—to save coal.

Mrs. Mary F. Koerner, widow of the late Belleville attorney, Gustave A. Koerner, Jr., dies in St. Louis at the age of ninety-nine. She was the niece of William H. Bissell, former governor of Illinois, with whom she lived in the Executive Mansion after her parents died.

May 2

A state of emergency is proclaimed in Chicago to conserve the dwindling coal supply.

May 3

Governor Green approves the expenditure of \$50,000 for the purchase of land for the new Nauvoo State Park in Hancock County.

May 4

Fred A. Britten of Chicago, member of Congress from 1913 to 1935, dies at the age of seventy-four at Bethesda, Maryland.

A strike of bakery and confectionery workers makes bread a scarce item in many Illinois cities.

May 8

The bread shortage in central Illinois ends as bakers resume work.

Scores of suburban and other trains are cancelled in Chicago for lack of coal.

May 10

The forty-day soft coal strike is temporarily halted as operators accept John L. Lewis' proposal for a two-weeks' truce. The Illinois Commerce Commission lifts nearly all "dimout" restrictions as the United Mine Workers plan to return to work.

May 15

The Progressive Mine Workers of America return to work.

May 17

The U. S. government seizes the railways and directs the Office of Defense Transportation to operate them, twenty-four hours before a scheduled strike.

May 21

The Illinois Supreme Court today holds unconstitutional the 1935 act banning breach-of-promise and alienation-of-affections suits in Illinois.

May 22

The federal government seizes the nation's soft coal mines today to keep them in operation. The two-week strike truce is about to expire.

May 23

The state convention of the Republican Party is held in Springfield.

A nation-wide railroad strike paralyzes transportation systems.

May 24

A special session of the General Assembly of Illinois convenes to consider a \$385,000,000 program for paying bonuses to the state's 916,000 men and women veterans of World War II.

May 25

The railroad strike is settled on President Truman's terms. The strike, lasting but forty-eight hours, had plunged the nation into the worst transportation crisis in its history.

May 26

The U. S. government turns the railroads back to their owners today.

May 27

The United Mine Workers go on strike again today after a two-week truce. This time the strike is against a government-operated coal industry.

May 29

The coal strike ends as John L. Lewis orders the United Mine Workers back to the pits following his acceptance of a government contract providing wage increases and a health and welfare fund.

May 31

Rainfall during May was the fourth largest of record in the state, and temperatures averaged 2.8 degrees below normal. This drop in temperatures reversed a trend which had made the first four months of the year the warmest since the beginning of state record-keeping in 1890.

June 5

Fire raging through the La Salle Hotel in Chicago early today brings death to sixty-one persons and injures two hundred in one of the worst disasters in the city's history. Starting on the main floor about 12:35 A.M., the fire quickly leaps up the elevator shafts to other floors. Smoke and gases suffocate most of the victims.

June 9

Dr. Edward Fry Bartholomew dies at the age of one hundred. He was professor emeritus of English literature at Augustana

College, where he had joined the faculty in 1888. He served as president of Carthage College from 1884 to 1888.

June 14

The General Assembly of Illinois passes a state bonus for veterans of World War II, and the bill is signed by Governor Green. Final decision will depend on the voters in November, when a bond issue of \$385,000,000 to finance the payment of the bonus will be submitted to the people.

June 15

The University of Illinois Board of Trustees today approves details for establishing a branch of the University at Navy Pier in Chicago.

June 18

Leon P. Hopkins of Springfield dies at the age of ninety-five. A retired plumber and tinsmith, he was called upon to open the casket of Abraham Lincoln for identification of the remains when the tomb was remodeled in 1901. He worked alone, and in resealing the casket was the last person to see Lincoln's face.

June 26

It is announced today that Lake Park, near East St. Louis, title to which was recently transferred to the state, will be known as Grand Marais State Park.

June 29

The thirty-room mansion and approximately 6,000 acres of the Robert Allerton estate near Monticello in Piatt County have been given to the University of Illinois by Robert Allerton.

June 30

Price control ends today with President Truman's veto of the renewal bill.

Mrs. Cora Edith English Tanner, widow of the late Governor John R. Tanner, dies at the age of eighty-six. She married Mr. Tanner shortly before he was inaugurated governor of Illinois.

July 1

Dr. George Dinsmore Stoddard today assumes his duties as the tenth president of the University of Illinois. He names Dr. Andrew Conway Ivy vice-president in charge of the Chicago professional colleges—a newly created position.

July 3

The livestock markets are swamped and prices soar in spite of attempts to "hold the line" against inflation. Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., reports that its wholesale food price index has jumped to the highest level since July 29, 1920.

July 7

Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini is proclaimed a saint. This marks the first canonization of a citizen of the United States by the Roman Catholic Church. Mother Cabrini died in Chicago in 1917, and considered that city her American home.

July 10

Leaders of the Mormon church, headed by George Albert Smith, president of the church, leave Salt Lake City today to visit Nauvoo, Illinois. On their return trip to Utah they will parallel as closely as possible the route taken by Mormon pioneers under Brigham Young in 1847.

July 13

Henry C. Lytton, pioneer Chicago merchant and president of the clothing store which bears his name, is one hundred years old today.

July 15

Benjamin W. Alpiner, serving his seventh term in the Illinois House of Representatives, dies at the age of seventy-eight at his home in Kankakee.

July 18

Dr. Charles Hubbard Judd dies at his home in Santa Barbara, California, at the age of seventy-three. Dr. Judd was formerly

head of the Department of Education at the University of Chicago, and one of the leaders in the scientific study of education.

July 23

A special session of the General Assembly, called by Governor Green to enact rental legislation, meets today. Federal rent control expired on June 30.

July 25

Congress passes an Office of Price Administration revival bill which is signed by President Truman late today. Many ceiling prices are raised and controls on many items are lifted altogether, but rent ceilings are restored to June 30 levels.

George Woodruff, Chicago banker and former president of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty-five.

July 27

A brilliant display of the aurora borealis is visible in central and northern Illinois. In the Chicago area it is the brightest in many years.

August 1

Governor Green adjourns the special session of the General Assembly until January 8, 1947. The session, called to establish rent control, enacted no legislation; meanwhile Congress restored federal rent controls.

Edward E. Miller, state treasurer of Illinois from 1921 to 1923 and representative in Congress from 1923 to 1925, dies in East St. Louis at the age of sixty-one.

Governor Green announces the appointment of Charles C. Haffner, Jr., of Lake Forest, as commander of the postwar Illinois National Guard and of one of its divisions, the Thirty-third. Major General Samuel T. Lawton, who commanded the

Thirty-third Division when it entered federal service on March 5, 1941, has retired.

August 3

Bernard H. Heide, general manager of the International Live Stock Exposition since 1906, dies at his home in Chicago. He was a member of the Illinois State Board of Agriculture from 1910 to 1922, and president of the Illinois State Fair from 1921 to 1925.

August 4

Infantile paralysis becomes alarmingly prevalent throughout the state. It is feared the disease may reach epidemic proportions.

August 6

Governor Green announces the formation of a twenty-one-man committee to study the housing situation and prepare recommendations for the next General Assembly.

August 9

The ninetieth Illinois State Fair, the first since 1941, opens today in Springfield. During the war years the Fair Grounds were leased to the War Department and used by the Army.

August 14

The Democratic state convention is held at Springfield. Senator Scott W. Lucas is the keynoter of the convention.

August 16

A flash flood causes great damage at Pearl, in Pike County, when Spring Creek, swollen with rain, breaks through the levee. Seven and one-half inches of rain had fallen in five hours. Buildings in some parts of the town are swept away by a wall of water.

High water from torrential rains—nine to twelve inches within forty-eight hours—renders many persons homeless in East St. Louis and Belleville.

August 17

A joint report of the Illinois State Housing Board and the National Housing Authority reveals that 230,000 new homes are needed in Illinois to meet minimum emergency housing requirements.

August 18

The Illinois State Fair closes. Over 1,000,000 people are estimated to have passed through the gates during the ten days of the fair.

August 21

The War Department announces that Illinois furnished 649,587 men and women to the Army between November 1, 1940 and December 31, 1945.

August 22

The Office of Price Administration announces that ceilings on meat are to be restored to June levels.

August 25

The Mississippi River bridge at Chester is reopened to traffic. The bridge has been reconstructed since its floor dropped into the river during a tornado on July 29, 1944.

August 26

Record shipments of cattle and hogs flood livestock market in an effort to beat the renewal of Office of Price Administration price ceilings. Experts predict meat will be scarce again by October.

August 28

Lyndon O. Brown is selected as the twelfth president of Knox College. Dr. Brown served on the Northwestern University faculty for thirteen years, and has been an advertising executive in New York City since 1943. He will assume his new duties on January 1.

August 31

Paul Porter, Office of Price Administration chief, announces that rent ceilings will be maintained.

September 1

Rabbi Saul Silber dies at his home in Chicago at the age of sixty-four. Rabbi Silber was the founder of the Hebrew Theological College of Chicago and its president for the past twenty-five years. For the past thirty-five years he has been rabbi of Congregation Anshe Sholom of Chicago.

September 7

Henry H. Mester, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1927 to 1930, dies at the age of seventy-eight. He lived in Springfield all his life.

September 9

John G. Millhouse, former Director of the State Department of Mines and Minerals, dies at his home in Litchfield. He was seventy-four years old.

September 13

Frank W. Hopp, sixty-eight, dies at his home in Elgin. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1920 to 1922.

September 18

The Illinois Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the slum-clearance program enacted by the General Assembly in 1945.

October 1

The meat shortage has become acute. The Department of Agriculture reports that production is only twenty-seven per cent of what it was a year ago.

October 3

Potter Palmer, III, dies in Sarasota, Florida, at the age of thirty-seven. His grandfather, the first Potter Palmer, helped

make State Street a great retail center and built the famous old Palmer House.

October 9

Michael "Hinky Dink" Kenna dies in Chicago at the age of eighty-nine. A colorful figure, he had risen from newsboy to saloonkeeper to ruler of First Ward politics, and had amassed a great fortune.

October 10

Some one hundred and fifty representatives of colleges and universities, in full academic regalia, join the MacMurray College faculty for the closing program of the college's centennial celebration. Dr. Arthur H. Compton delivers the chief address and ten honorary degrees are conferred.

October 14

The removal of price controls on meat is announced by President Truman.

October 17

Governor Green announces the purchase by the state of the Burnham Building at 160 North La Salle Street in Chicago. The twenty-story building will house Chicago offices of state departments, centralizing the twenty-seven state offices now located in twenty different buildings.

October 23

More than 275 persons are injured in a crash of two elevated trains in Chicago early today at the Forty-seventh Street station on the South Side. The crash occurs during a heavy fog.

November 3

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis reports that this year's infantile paralysis epidemic was the second most severe in history.

November 5

Illinois voters today approve the \$385,000,000 soldiers' bonus bond issue, and elect the following state officers: Richard Yates Rowe, State Treasurer; Vernon L. Nickell, Superintendent of Public Instruction; William G. Stratton, Congressman-at-Large; Park Livingston, John R. Fornof, and Mrs. Doris Simpson Holt, Trustees of the University of Illinois.

November 6

Robert G. Hammond, eighty-six, a member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1900 to 1902, dies in Charleston.

November 9

President Truman announces the discontinuance of all controls over wages and prices except those on rents, sugar, and rice.

November 10

Patrick H. Joyce, retired president of the Chicago Great Western Railroad, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty-seven.

James A. Meeks, former Congressman from the eighteenth district of Illinois from 1933 to 1939, dies in Danville.

November 12

John J. Pelley, railway official and president of the Association of American Railroads, dies in Washington, D. C. He was born in Anna, Illinois, in 1878. He began his railroad career as a clerk for the Illinois Central at Anna in 1899, and worked his way up to vice-president in charge of operation. He had been with the Association of American Railroads since 1934.

November 16

Local federal employment services revert to the state today, and will be known hereafter as the Illinois State Employment Service. State governors loaned their employment offices to the federal government just after Pearl Harbor.

November 17

Thomas F. Donovan, lieutenant governor of Illinois from 1933 to 1937, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-seven.

November 21

The second general strike of soft coal miners during 1946 begins. John L. Lewis terminates the United Mine Workers contract with the government at midnight.

Cases of poliomyelitis in Illinois during 1946 reach a total of 2,361, more than twice the number for a year ago. It is estimated that a peak of 2,500 cases will be reached before the end of the year.

November 26

Daniel M. Flanigan of Chicago, state representative from the first district, dies at the age of sixty-seven. He had served in the General Assembly since 1939.

December 2

Charles M. Borchers, former mayor of Decatur and congressman from 1913 to 1915, dies at the age of seventy-seven.

December 7

John L. Lewis calls off the United Mine Workers strike and orders the 400,000 miners to go back to work until March 31, 1947. This ends the "dimouts," freight embargoes, and other coal conservation measures which have shackled industry since November 21. Fines of \$10,000 against John L. Lewis and \$3,500,000 against the United Mine Workers were imposed by a federal court a few days ago.

December 8

One of the longest strikes in the nation, which had lasted since December 26, 1945, was settled today. It involved some nine hundred men at the J. I. Case Company farm machinery plant in Rockford.

December 17

Thomas Temple Hoyne dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-one. A writer and former newspaperman, Mr. Hoyne had a special interest in the life of Stephen A. Douglas. He was appointed Comptroller of Customs by President Roosevelt in 1934.

December 29

Hugh Robert Wilson, last ambassador from this country to Nazi Germany, dies at his home in Bennington, Vermont, at the age of sixty-one. He was born in Evanston, Illinois.

State Senator Hugh M. Luckey of Potomac dies at the age of seventy-three. A veteran member of the General Assembly, he was first elected to the House in 1922 and was six times re-elected. He had been a member of the state Senate since 1942.

December 31

President Truman proclaims the end of hostilities of World War II as of twelve o'clock noon today.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

SPANISH PEGGY: A STORY OF YOUNG ILLINOIS. By Mary Hartwell Catherwood. Chicago, H. S. Stone, 1899.

Half a century ago, Mary Hartwell Catherwood was known throughout Illinois as the author of best sellers. She wrote twenty books and a great many magazine articles. Often she had two books appearing serially at the same time in different magazines, but she was never accused of getting the wrong characters into the wrong story. Mary Hartwell was born in Ohio and came to Illinois with her parents when she was nine years old. She married James Steele Catherwood of Hoopeston, lived there, and in Chicago, much of her life so she can rightly be claimed by Illinois. One of the Illinois State Historical Society's new life members, Mr. Charles Goodwin-Perkins of Hoopeston, tells us that there was a big tree with a "crow's nest" on a platform on his farm, "Piankeshaw," where Mary Hartwell Catherwood used to sit and write. She had a simple yet vivid style which is readily displayed in *Spanish Peggy*, a book that is not necessarily her best, but one that has been selected for the Bookshelf on account of the author's use of Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge as contributory characters in the plot. The quotations below show how Mary Hartwell Catherwood used Lincoln to attract the reader to a story that has nothing to do with him. Here are the first three paragraphs:

Abraham Lincoln lay stretched on his stomach, his head supported by his hands, facing the cooper's fireplace. A blaze of shavings and blocks lighted cobwebby beams overhead, clean staves and hoop-pole standing around the wall, the cooper's work-bench and tools, and the lank, aguish face of a man who sat on a keg beside the hearth, holding a book from which the young student recited. The shop had part of a log left out in the side, filled, like all New Salem windows, with oiled paper instead of glass. Outer darkness made this a blurred oblong framed by logs.

People knew that the cooper let young Lincoln turn his shop into a study an hour or two every evening, and no one before this night had come picking at the latch.

"The string's pulled in, Minter," said Lincoln, turning his head as suppressed laughter and a shuffle of feet on the log step disturbed his recitation. "Never mind the boys; they'll go away pretty soon."

The "Minter" referred to above is Mentor Graham and the scene of course is Lincoln's New Salem. Mrs. Catherwood's first renown had come from a historical novel, *The Romance of Dollard* published in 1889, just ten years before *Spanish Peggy*. That story was based on Adam Daulac's ill-fated expedition in the Iroquois troubles of 1643-1661. Her historical facts are supposed to have come entirely from Francis Parkman. However this may have been, she set a fashion with *Dollard* for historical fiction that continued throughout the 1890's. The French period in American history was her first love. She followed *Dollard* with four other books on French exploration and settlement. Her affection for and knowledge of the *habitants* in Illinois, crops out in *Spanish Peggy*. Note the reference in the following account of the guest who entered the cooper's shop where we left Lincoln and Mentor Graham.

Half a dozen figures emerged from the night of the village street, bearing Nancy Green company, laughing and half reluctant; and let themselves be coaxed into sharing a long bench which the boys drew up before the fire. It was like an invasion of swallows. Abe raked up all the shavings and blocks and brought them to the hearth. A festive spirit filled the place. Nearly all the girls were bareheaded, in linsey dresses. They had stepped out of their homes along the winding road for the mere pleasure of being abroad and free from tasks at the end of the day; with the exception of Nancy Green, and Martha Bell Clary, who had come from Clary's Grove to stay all night with Mahala Cameron. A similar group of young people in a French cabin would have cleared the floor directly for dancing, all the merrier for having met unexpectedly. But these children of serious Massachusetts, Tennessee, Carolina, and Kentucky pioneers held experience meeting instead. The state was still so young, and their knowledge of the wide world so limited, that they and their elders took primitive delight in telling over their own adventures. The oftener a story was repeated the more dignity it acquired.

As has been said, Lincoln is only incidental to *Spanish Peggy*. The real story centers around Peggy, a crippled girl adopted by a mythical Sauk Indian in New Salem; a Spanish villain tries repeatedly to kidnap her, and she finally marries a young hero named Antywine—obviously a corruption of Catherwood's beloved French "Antoine." Such characters are too melodramatic for modern readers, but they walk on a stage arranged with more than common research for accuracy. Mary Hartwell Catherwood had a skill, too, for depicting her romanticized characters with charm and realism, for making a lost generation seem like people we all know. Note the following:

But the festival that Peggy liked best and was not left out of, was blackberrying. The girls rose at dawn and put on their worst clothes, meeting by appointment at the tavern with baskets on their arms. They

did not speak loud. The dust in the road took the prints of their feet like ashes. The whole sweet-smelling world was drenched in dew, and as they brushed down the ravine and across to the woods beyond, they were baptized by every bush. Then their tongues were loosened, and they sang and told stories. Sometimes they pretended to see wolves sneaking to cover, but this was merely for the pleasure of frightening themselves. It was the loveliest pilgrimage ever invented. There was peril in it, too, for in the wooded field of wild brambles the thick-mottled rattlesnake, or objects resembling him, caused many a start and shriek.

Once little Jane Rutledge got a fat grasshopper down her back, and yelled for deliverance from—"a snake! a snake!"

"Oh, run home, Jane! Run home, quick!" cried Mahala Cameron.

But Ann tore the child's clothing open and freed the grasshopper, clinging with all his feet to the tender white back; and they all laughed at Mahala, who would have sent her three miles for help.

Sometimes the girls swam grass to their waists, as in a sea of dew, Peggy dividing her way with her crutch. The rising sun showed glittering in the brambles, blackberries and luscious dewberries half as long as one's thumb, melting ripe to keep that very morning's appointment. To go blackberrying late in the day was not to go blackberrying at all, but to a hot and weary search of rifled fields.

When the party trailed homeward with heaped baskets they could see along the ridge of the Sangamon tents and camps of farmers who had come long distances to mill. Each man was obliged to wait his turn to have his grain ground. It was like a fair. Quoit pitching, wrestling matches, races, and trading filled up the idle time.

Insensibly the season changed. Sumac leaves began to burn around scarlet fruit veiled in white, the oaks were faintly tinted, and the first September days had come.

Mary Hartwell Catherwood was at her best in description. From her "crow's nest" on Piankeshaw Farm she saw and understood Illinois' passing seasons. Witness the next quotation from *Spanish Peggy*. "In November there was a haze over the landscape like bloom on grapes. Indian summer lingered. Settlers had not then learned the Mississippi Valley's sudden and bitter changes of climate."

HISTORICAL NOTE

A NEW MORMON LETTER

Joseph Smith was a prodigious writer of books but personal letters in his own handwriting are rare. The following one has been acquired recently by the Illinois State Historical Library. Nauvoo, at the time this letter was written, had been occupied by the Latter-Day Saints for two years. The city was growing rapidly with immigrants from the East and from Europe. Within a few years it became the largest city in Illinois and then withered away as rapidly as it had burgeoned. Eleven years earlier, in 1830, Joseph Smith had founded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints at Fayette, New York. That year the *Book of Mormon* was published and pronounced to be sacred and equal in authority with the Bible. Joseph Smith, the Prophet and Seer of the new church, told his followers that the *Book of Mormon* was a translation of ancient characters on certain "golden plates" that had been revealed to him by an angel.

The letter which follows deals largely with money matters—a problem in many churches, then and now. The exact spelling and punctuation used in the original have been retained in this transcription.

CITY OF NAUVOO
May 4, 1841

DEAR BRO. GRANGER.¹

Bro Hyrum² having returned and given me a statement of his journey and proceedings in the East, which have been very pleasing and satisfactory. I was sorry to hear that you had been so sick, and not able to attend to business as much as could be desired.

I have since heard that you have had a relapse, and that you were very sick again, this I was sorry to hear. However I hope you will yet recover and that we shall see you at this place before long.

I am very anxious indeed to have the matters which concern the First Presidency settled as soon as possible, for until they are I have to labor under a load that is intolerable to bear. I therefore respectfully recommend to you to give a statement of the whole affairs to Dr. Gal-

¹ Oliver Granger had been appointed to settle the church business at Kirtland, Ohio, after the Mormons moved west. Born in Ontario County, New York, in 1794, he was baptized by Brigham Young, became a High Priest, and died a few months after receiving this letter.

² Hyrum Smith, brother of Joseph.

land³ who is yet in the East, and will be in Kirtland⁴ soon, and get him to take the matter into his hands and get the business straitened up. This I must beg leave to urge upon you to do, for delays are dangerous, your health is precarious and if anything should occur—so that you were to bid adieu to mortality it would be impossible for me ever to get the run of the business and I should be again involved in difficulties from which it would be impossible for me to extricate myself. Now dear Brother I do hope you will see the reasonableness of this request and assist Dr. Galland in the affair.

I do not make these observations because I have lost confidence in you far from it, but I feel impressed to write what I have done, from a sense of duty which I owe to the Church of Christ, to you and to myself.

I wish you to see that the judgment obtained on the mortgage on the house of the Lord, in the Circuit Court, be entered satisfied, and I will settle with you the same as if you held it yourself. Bro Carlos'⁵ House & Lot I want deeding to Mrs Agnas Smith and her heirs.

I am happy to inform you, that things are going on well in this place, we have been greatly prospered, and many are flocking in from Europe & about 300 have arrived in less than a week, more are on the way.

I shall be anxious to hear from you as soon as possible, relative to these matters &c

I am with great respect

very respectfully

JOSEPH SMITH

MR OLIVER GRANGER

The house and Store encumbered by the debts for the "Plates" are now at liberty, that debt having been settled. You can therefore let Bro Babbitt⁶ take[?] control over these untill I settle with him. You will also keep possession of the Keys of the House of the Lord, until you receive furthur instructions from me.

JOSEPH SMITH

Bro Hyrum sends his respects to you and family.

³ Isaac Galland, land agent for Joseph Smith.

⁴ Joseph Smith moved his flock from western New York to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831.

⁵ A younger brother of Joseph Smith. He had died shortly after his people moved to Nauvoo.

⁶ Almon W. Babbitt was later sealed in marriage "for time" to Maria Lawrence. She was sealed "for eternity" to Joseph Smith. The marriage to Babbitt seems to have been short-lived as the records show her marriage to Brigham Young in the same month.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

AN 1837 ESTIMATE OF THE FUTURE OF PERU

The next point to which my attention was directed was Peru. This place will unquestionably become one of the greatest inland towns in the West, and second only to Chicago. A traveller riding through would smile if you were to tell him that this place was destined to become a city. One humble tenement is all it boasts, and a stranger would be apt to imagine, when you told him that a town was laid out there, and that lots were commanding from \$1000 to \$2500 apiece, that the speculating fever was raging with all-pervading influence. But upon careful examination and mature reflection, I have arrived at the conclusion above stated.

Peru is situated on the Illinois river, at the head of river navigation, and is the point of termination of the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

This canal, when completed, will be the most splendid project of internal improvement in the Union. Its dimensions are sixty feet wide at the top water line—36 feet wide at the bottom, and six feet deep—the estimated cost of which is nine millions. This is a great link in the grandest chain of internal improvements known in the world—"it unites the Mississippi with our inland seas, the Gulf of St. Lawrence with the Gulf of Mexico, and the Rocky mountains with the Atlantic coast." Where can be found a work of internal improvement more important than this?

Besides, the great central rail-road from the mouth of the Ohio terminates here. It is situated in the midst of a most fertile region, abounding in grain, in coal, in iron, and in hydraulic power. These things being considered, is it wrong to suppose that a large inland city will here arise? For myself I have no doubt of the fact, and would stake my reputation on the result. And but a few short months ago, the land there was entered by an enterprising Pennsylvanian, (one who, by his business talents, enterprize, and unspotted reputation, has amassed a munificent fortune, and who can be pointed to as a distinguished example of the success which attends well-directed efforts) for a dollar and a quarter per acre—now it will readily command from 5000 to 10,000 dollars per acre.

"Letters from a Rambler in the West" in Augustus Mitchell, pub., *Illinois in 1837* (1837), 135-36.

A WAR DANCE IN CHICAGO

I shall close this paper with an account of the great war dance which was performed by all the braves which could be mustered among the five thousand Indians here assembled. The number who joined in the dance was probably about eight hundred. Although I cannot give the precise day, it must have occurred about the last of August, 1835. It was the the last war dance ever performed by the natives on the ground where now stands this great city,¹ though how many thousands had preceded it no one can tell. They appreciated that it was the last on their native soil—that it was a sort of funeral ceremony of old associations and memories, and nothing was omitted to lend to it all the grandeur and solemnity possible. Truly I thought it an impressive scene of which it is quite impossible to give an adequate idea by words alone.

They assembled at the council-house, near where the Lake House now stands, on the north side of the river. All were entirely naked, except a strip of cloth around the loins. Their bodies were covered all over with a great variety of brilliant paints. On their faces, particularly, they seemed to have exhausted their art of hideous decoration. Foreheads, cheeks, and noses were covered with curved stripes of red or vermilion, which were edged with black points, and gave the appearance of a horrid grin over the entire countenance. The long, coarse, black hair was gathered into scalp-locks on the tops of their heads, and decorated with a profusion of hawk's and eagle's feathers, some strung together so as to extend down the back nearly to the ground. They were principally armed with tomahawks and war clubs. They were led by what answered for a band of music, which created what may be termed a discordant din of hideous noises produced by beating on hollow vessels and striking sticks and clubs together. They advanced, not with a regular march, but a continued dance. Their actual progress was quite slow. They proceeded up and along the bank of the river, on the north side, stopping in front of every house they passed, where they performed some extra exploits. They crossed the North Branch on the old bridge, which stood near where the railroad bridge now stands, and thence proceeded south along the west side to the bridge across the South Branch, which stood south of where Lake street bridge is now located, which was nearly in front and in full view from the parlor windows of the Sauganash Hotel. At that time, this was the rival hotel to the Tremont, and stood upon the same ground lately occupied by the great Republican wigwam where Mr. Lincoln was nominated for the presidency—80 feet south of the S.E. corner of Lake and

¹ Chicago, Ill.

Market streets. It was then a fashionable boarding-house, and quite a number of young married people had rooms there. The parlor was in the second story fronting west, from the windows of which the best view of the dance was to be obtained, and these were filled with ladies so soon as the dance commenced. From this point of view my own observations were principally made. Although the din and clatter had been heard for a considerable time, they did not come into view from this point of observation till they had proceeded so far west as to come on a line with the house, which was before they had reached the North Branch bridge. From that time on, they were in full view all the way to the South Branch bridge, which was nearly before us, the wild band, which was in front as they came upon the bridge, redoubling their blows to increase the noise, closely followed by the warriors, who had now wrought themselves into a perfect frenzy.

The morning was very warm, and the perspiration [*sic*] was pouring from them almost in streams. Their eyes were wild and bloodshot. Their countenances had assumed an expression of all the worst passions which can find a place in the breast of a savage—fierce anger, terrible hate, dire revenge, remorseless cruelty—all were expressed in their terrible features. Their muscles stood out in great hard knots, as if wrought to a tension which must burst them. Their tomahawks and clubs were thrown and brandished about in every direction, with the most terrible ferocity, and with a force and energy which could only result from the highest excitement, and with every step and every gesture, they uttered the most frightful yells, in every imaginable key and note, though generally the highest and shrillest possible. The dance, which was ever continued, consisted of leaps and spasmodic steps, now forward and now back or sideways, with the whole body distorted into every imaginable unnatural position, most generally stooping forward, with the head and face thrown up, the back arched down, first one foot thrown far forward and then withdrawn, and the other similarly thrust out, frequently squatting quite to the ground, and all with a movement almost as quick as lightning. Their weapons were brandished as if they would slay a thousand enemies at every blow, while the yells and screams they uttered were broken up and multiplied and rendered all the more hideous by a rapid clapping of the mouth with the palm of the hand.

To see such an exhibition by a single individual would have been sufficient to excite a sense of fear in a person not over nervous. Eight hundred such, all under the influence of the strongest and wildest excitement, constituting a raging sea of dusky, painted, naked fiends, presented a spectacle absolutely appalling.

When the head of the column had reached the front of the hotel, leaping, dancing, gesticulating, and screaming, while they looked up at the windows with hell itself depicted on their faces, at the "chemokoman squaws" with which they were filled, and brandishing their weapons as if they were about to make a real attack in deadly earnest, the rear was still on the other side of the river, two hundred yards off; and all the intervening space, including the bridge and its approaches, was covered with this raging savagery glistening in the sun, reeking with steamy sweat, fairly frothing at the mouths as with unaffected rage, it seemed as if we had a picture of hell itself before us, and a carnival of the damned spirits their [*sic*] confined, whose pastimes we may suppose should present some such scenes as this.

At this stage of the spectacle, I was interested to observe the effect it had upon the different ladies who occupied the windows almost within reach of the war clubs in the hands of the excited savages just below them. Most of them had become accustomed to the sight of the naked savages during the several weeks they had occupied the town, and had even seen them in the dance before, for several minor dances had been previously performed, but this far excelled in the horrid anything which they had previously witnessed. Others, however, had but just arrived in town, and had never seen an Indian before the last few days, and knew nothing of our wild western Indians but what they had learned of their savage butcheries and tortures in legends and in histories. To those most familiar with them, the scenes seemed actually appalling, and but few stood it through and met the fierce glare of the savage eyes below them without shrinking. It was a place to try the human nerves of even the stoutest and all felt that one such sight was enough for a lifetime. The question forced itself on even those who had seen them most, what if they should in their maddened frenzy, turn this sham warfare into a real attack? how easy it would be for them to massacre us all, and leave not a living soul to tell the story. Some such remark as this was often heard, and it was not strange if the cheeks of all paled at the thought of such a possibility. However, most of them stood it bravely, and saw the sight to the very end; but I think all felt relieved when the last had disappeared around the corner as they passed down Lake street, and only those horrid sounds which reached them told that the war dance was still progressing. They paused in their progress, for extra exploits, in front of Dr. John T. Temple's house, near the north-east corner of Lake and Franklin streets, then in front of the Exchange Coffee House, a little further east on Lake street and then again in front of the Tremont, then situated on the north-west corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, where the appearance of the ladies

the windows again inspired them with new life and energy. From hence they passed down to Fort Dearborn, where they concluded their performance in the presence of the officers and soldiers of the garrison.

JOHN DEAN CATON, *The Last of the Illinois and
a Sketch of the Pottawatomies* (1876), 26-30.

EDWARDS COUNTY'S "ENGLISH SETTLEMENT"

On the third morning we made early preparations for departure; and accepting gladly the offer of the builder for a guide, we took leave of *Marvel Hall* and, not without considerable apprehensions of difficulties to come in getting away, started for the town of Albion, as the English settlement is called. According to expectation the way was not free from road, bog, gully, and stump; but with the aid of day these obstacles were overcome without accident; and after having traversed several miles of woodland and prairie, covered with long grass and brushwood, and having lost our way once or twice, we at length crossed a narrow forest track, and rising an eminence entered upon the so-much talked-of Boulton House Prairie; just as the sun in full front of us was setting majestically, lighting with his golden rays what appeared to be a widely extended and beautiful park, belted in the distance with woodland over which the eye ranged afar. The ground was finely *undulated*, and here and there ornamented with interspersed clumps of the White Oak and other timber, in such forms that our picturesque planters of highest repute might fairly own themselves outdone. The effect was indeed striking, and we halted to enjoy it until the last rays of the beautiful luminary told the necessity of hurrying on to the settlement, in search of quarters for the night; indulging by the way sanguine hopes of an English supper and comfort as a matter of course at an English settlement. The road was good, yet the length of way made it nearly dark when we drove up to the log tavern; before the door and dispersed, stood several groups of people, who seemed so earnest in discourse that they scarcely heeded us; others, many of whom were noisy from the effects of a visit to the whiskey store, crowded round to look at us; and amidst the general confusion as we carried the luggage in (having first obtained a bed-room,) I was not a little apprehensive of losing some of it. However, we got all safely stored, and taking the horses off led them into a straw-yard full of others, for there was no stable room to be had; and what was worse no *water*, not sufficient even to sprinkle over some Indian corn which we got for them. The landlord did all that lay in his power, but our own fare proved little better than that of our horses, which spoke volumes on the state of the settlement; some very

rancid butter, a little sour bread, and some slices of lean fried beef, which it was vain to expect the teeth could penetrate, washed down by bad coffee sweetened with wild honey, formed our repast. We asked for eggs, milk,—sugar,—salt; the answer to all was "We have none." The cow had strayed away for some days in search of water, of which the people could not obtain sufficient for their own ordinary drink; there being none for cattle, or to wash themselves, or clothes. After making such a meal as we could, and having spread our own sheets I laid down *armed at all points*, that is, with gloves and stockings on, and a long rough flannel dressing gown, and thus defended slept pretty well.

In the morning a request was sent to Mr. Birkbeck for some water, understanding that he had a plentifully supplied well;—the answer sent back was, that he made it a general rule to refuse every one: a similar application to Mr. Flower however met with a different fate, and the horses were not only well supplied, but a pitcher of good water was sent for our breakfast. If the first was not punished for his general refusal the latter was rewarded for his grant by finding on his grounds and not far from his house two days after, a plentiful spring of clear water, which immediately broke out on the first spit of earth's being removed; this real treasure was seen flowing; the discovery of it appeared miraculous in the midst of a general drought.

We now sallied out to take a view of the settlement, which was marked out not on prairie, but on woodland, only just partially cleared here and there where a house is built; so that there is yet but little appearance of a town. A very neat roofed-in building for a market first attracted the eye; at one end, parted off with boards, and under the same roof is a very decent place of worship; which is at present of a size sufficient for the place.

While we were viewing this edifice a young Englishman introduced himself with a welcome to us, and hopes expressed that I should settle among them; he was, I found, the medical man of the place, and in himself certainly formed one inducement to stay, for he seemed to be a very pleasant communicative man, he possessed a very prettily finished picturesque cottage and seemed sanguine in his hopes of the success of the settlement. . . .

Mr. Flower followed up his seasonable supply of water, with a call and invitation to his house, which was gladly accepted; being much disgusted at the deplorable state of ill health, anxious looks, despair and discontent, depicted in so many faces around,—to relieve or even alleviate which we possessed no means.

The contrast to this at Mr. Flower's was violent and pleasing; the,

e met with every polite and hospitable attention during our stay, and from thence alone we were grieved to depart. In the midst of these wilds the elegant repast and social converse were again, as if by magic, enjoyed; and in such agreeable dissipation of mind the purposes of the journey were perhaps too much lost sight of, and many inquiries neglected which are now causes of regret.

ADLARD WELBY, *A Visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois*. . . (1821), 109-12; 114-15.

MR. LINCOLN AT HOME

A correspondent of the *Philadelphia North American* thus describes Mr. Lincoln at home.

As I was rambling around Springfield, in the vicinity of Mr. Lincoln's home, I accosted a good natured looking lady, surrounded with a covey of children, and plucking flowers in a garden close by. I inquired for Mr. Lincoln's residence. The lady turning round at the salutation, pointed out the house, and, with a singular naivete of expression, and with old fashioned hospitality, said: "Won't you walk in? you'll be welcome there." I could not but be impressed with the unstudied revelation of the true republican simplicity of Mr. Lincoln's character, and of the neighborly cordiality which that character has naturally evoked.

The home of Mr. Lincoln is a simple two-storied double frame house, on the corner of Eighth and Edward¹ streets a half dozen squares from the railroad depot. The dwelling, which wears a Quaker tint of light brown,² stands upon a plateau—elevated three or four feet above the sidewalk. On a brick foundation wall rising to the level of the garden, is a neat walled fence, with handsome square posts, inclosing the front and side of the property. A back building joins the main edifice and in the rear there is a large garden. There is no sign of pretension anywhere visible. The building is singularly quiet-looking and cozy just such a home as a sensible man in one of our sensible Pennsylvania towns would care to enjoy.

Mr. Lincoln's manner is in perfect keeping with these home surroundings, as I found on personal experience. Having been specially invited to his room at the State House, to "assist," as the French say, at the taking of his physiognomy by a Boston artist; Mr. Thomas M. Johnson, I had a capital chance of studying his appearance and judging of his character. The pictures which have been already published are but a slight remove from broad caricature. Mr. Volk's bust gives the truest impression of the head and general bearing. But neither the likeness by

¹ The house is on the corner of Eighth and Jackson streets.

² Should the house be restored to this color?

Mr. Hicks of New York, nor that by Mr. Barry of Boston, approaches any degree of fidelity. The present crayon sketch by Mr. Johnson, if faithfully reproduced, will be an admirable picture.

When Mr. Lincoln is engaged in animated conversation, the play of the features is instinct with intelligence; the eye dilates with a generous radiance; the cheekbones cease to have any noticeable prominence, and the mouth, which in the prints has been made a distressing feature, is full of character and expression.

Happening to ask Mr. Lincoln how it was that none of the artists had done him justice, he replied, with a humorous smile: "It is impossible to get my graceful motions in—that's the reason why none of the pictures are like me!"

In his conversational language Mr. Lincoln gives abundant evidence of thorough sound sense and a ripened experience. On public questions he expressed himself with an unreserved frankness. On European politics he talked with a familiarity which only close observation of passing events could have imparted. The impression which he creates in the mind of all who come in contact with him, is that of a self-made, independent, honest thinker. He rises far above the politician; he is a stranger to the intrigues which have cursed party politics; he is thoroughly imbued with the true elements of statesmanship; and, in the highest and noblest sense, he is a man.

Yours faithfully,

J. L.

Cincinnati Daily Gazette, August 27, 1860.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Diary of a Public Man: And a Page of Political Correspondence, Stanton to Buchanan. Foreword by Carl Sandburg; Prefatory Notes by F. Lauriston Bullard. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, N. J., 1946. Pp. 137. \$3.00.)

At last this controversial diary and these significant letters have been rescued from the frequently ignored pages of *The North American Review*. Lovers of Lincoln lore and students of the Civil War, in particular, will rejoice, but addicts of historical "whodunits" and casual readers will have good reason to join them.

This anonymous diary, in reality only selections from a diary, covers, generally, the tense and critical period from Lincoln's first election to the outbreak of the Civil War. The entrees bristle with gossip at high levels, with foul intrigue, and with stories of mounting panic. The diarist, obviously at home with many political leaders, records confidential talks with Douglas during his selfless struggle to save the Union, the insolent remarks of Stanton when gambling for political leadership, and the facial expressions of Lincoln as he fought against the disintegration of his party and the nation. If the authenticity of the diary could be assured, some gaps in history could safely be filled.

This sixty-eight year old riddle of authorship, neatly summarized by F. Lauriston Bullard's note, will intrigue historical detectives. Perhaps some day one of them will solve the riddle. However, even if the diary should be proved fraudulent, its historical atmosphere is certainly authentic. The failure of the critics to discredit the diary on internal and external evidence is due, perhaps, in part to the omission of critical names, but probably far more to the basic honesty of the historical setting. Undoubtedly the diary paints a true picture of 1861 as seen by a contemporary. At present, this feature gives the diary its greatest importance.

The publisher's luxury of reproducing both the diary and the letters in the exact form in which they appeared in *The North American Review*, without critical footnotes or a sufficiently detailed historical introduction, will force many readers to the refuge of a well-drawn history of the period.

Northwestern University.

CHARLES J. MILLER.

Abraham Lincoln and the Widow Bixby. By F. Lauriston Bullard. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, N. J., 1946. Pp. 154. \$3.00.)

Mr. Bullard became interested in this subject as early as 1908 and studied it at intervals for many years. After retiring from his position as editorial writer on the *Boston Herald* a few years ago he went into it exhaustively and this book is the result.

In 1926, William E. Barton presented a thorough study of the Bixby family which showed that Lincoln wrote the famous letter to Mrs. Bixby under a misconception, since she had not lost five sons in the war, as he had been informed, but only two; and that of the remaining three, one was honorably discharged and two deserted. This misconception of fact detracted in no wise, however, from the nobility of Lincoln's motives or the beauty of his language. It was *A Beautiful Blunder*. Barton also traced the history of the original letter, concluding that it is irretrievably lost and that the numerous facsimiles that have been circulated were prepared from forgeries.

Although Bullard retraces much of this same ground and adds a few details about the Bixby family, his primary purpose is to disprove the several assertions that John Hay rather than Lincoln was the author of the letter. Examining all the evidence adduced by those who would disparage Lincoln's authorship, and even offering the doubters some new evidence that he himself has discovered, Bullard then proceeds to present the case for Lincoln. Study of John Hay's own statements supports Lincoln's authorship; and comparison of Hay's style with that of Lincoln and examination of Hay's literary competence and capacity for deep feeling, at the age he had attained when the letter was written, lead Bullard to conclude that Lincoln deserves the benefit of the doubt and that the burden of proof is upon those who would attribute the authorship to Hay.

Springfield, Ill.

BENJAMIN P. THOMAS.

Legends that Libel Lincoln. By Montgomery S. Lewis. (Rinehart & Company: New York and Toronto, 1946. Pp. 239. \$2.75.)

Confessing that he tells "nothing that is really new, nothing that has not been known by Lincoln students for many years," Mr. Lewis justifies his book on the ground that the findings of the students are to be found in scattered specialized studies and have not yet made their way into the biographies that come before the general reader. Thus he sets out to brief these scholarly findings and to present the conclusions he has drawn from them.

His fire is concentrated on three salients: the stock picture of the

wandering, aimless Thomas Lincoln, the Ann Rutledge romance, and Lincoln's supposedly unhappy married life.

Lewis is rightfully critical of unsupported statements detrimental to Thomas Lincoln and does well to adopt Louis A. Warren's rehabilitation of him. But one wonders if he may not go too far in concluding that he was a good stepfather and that he set a good example for young Abraham.

In view of the adverse findings of Barton, Angle, and Randall, the author is inclined to reject the Ann Rutledge romance, although he admits there is evidence for as well as against it and suggests that one may make his choice. This is a common-sense attitude, as is also his admonition that it is time to forget once and for all the embellishments which distort the romance "out of all proportion by asserting that it was a major influence of Lincoln's life."

Lewis can find no real proof that Lincoln's married life was unhappy. Those who affirm that it was, says he, draw their conclusion from the fact that they would have been unhappy under similar circumstances. After all, however, isn't this about as close as we can come to the truth? In the absence of positive knowledge, how can our conclusions be other than subjective?

Like Thomas Lincoln, Mrs. Lincoln has unquestionably been wronged; yet it is going too far to say that Lincoln's married life was happy. Doubtless there was happiness; but there were also times when Mrs. Lincoln made her husband desperately unhappy. But he understood that she was not always responsible and that she merited his patience, tolerance, and sympathy, just as she deserves ours.

Mr. Lewis writes with facility and discernment; and while his book lacks originality, it is an able synthesis of the opinions of the Lincoln students—who, incidentally, do not always agree.

Springfield, Ill.

BENJAMIN P. THOMAS.

Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings. Edited by Roy P. Basler; Preface by Carl Sandburg. (World Publishing Company: Cleveland and New York, 1946. Pp. xxx, 843. \$3.75.)

Of such a man as Abraham Lincoln the last word, seemingly, can never be said. Of Homer it is written:

"Seven wealthy towns contend for Homer dead,

Through which the living Homer begged his bread."

In 1923 this reviewer was in London when occurred the tercentenary celebration of the first folio edition of Shakespeare's works. He was privi-

leged to attend several great occasions at which Sir Sidney Lee, George Bernard Shaw and other celebrities vied with each other in honoring one who had slight recognition during his life. So, with the passing of the years, new tributes and fresh encomiums on Abraham Lincoln succeeded each other.

A notable addition to Lincoln literature was made in 1946 by Roy P. Basler who edited Lincoln's speeches and writings in connected form. Several similar studies and arrangements of Lincoln's writings have earlier been made, dating back to the pioneer work of Nicolay and Hay. One distinctive feature of Mr. Basler's book is that he went to the originals and presents Lincoln as he spoke and wrote, indicating mistakes and crudities with brackets. We may be well assured that Lincoln would have insisted that he be quoted as he spoke and wrote.

Mr. Basler's book is attractively printed with ample margins and a clear-faced type. The limited editorial matter is clearly stated and printed throughout in italics so that the reader readily distinguishes Lincoln's text from the editorial interpretations.

His "Sources and Bibliography" extend to sixteen pages and list 310 items. Information is given as to places and dates of publication, and libraries and magazines where the material may be found. This bibliography furnishes a good working list for studies in the Lincoln field.

The index calls for special mention. It is presented in two columns on a page and extends to nineteen pages. The United States Constitution has seventy-nine references; the Declaration of Independence thirty-five; Stephen A. Douglas is referred to seventy-nine times; Joshua F. Speer twenty-four times; George Washington twenty-one times and slavery forty-one times. This index indicates the thoroughness of the study.

Mr. Basler and his publishers should be commended for having produced an attractive and useful book in a field which had formerly been covered. It may well be questioned whether any other single volume of Lincoln's life gives so adequate and authoritative an account as is here furnished of the man and his accomplishments.

Philadelphia, Pa.

CHEESMAN A. HERRICK.

The 84th Infantry Division in the Battle of Germany. By Theodore Drapeau. (Viking Press: New York, 1946. Pp. 260. Maps and appendices \$5.00.)

The book under review will be of interest to Illinois readers because the 84th Infantry Division during World War I was the famous "Lincoln Division" composed of southern Illinois, Kentucky, and Indiana men.

during World War II, upon reactivation on October 15, 1942, the division retained the memory of Lincoln through its "Railsplitter" divisional insignia although it drew its men mainly from the Southern states.

The Battle of Germany as a book is unusual in the current historical literature of World War II because it depicts a wide scope of combat endeavor through the medium of infantry company history. The battle action of the division is described by analyzing in some detail the participation of its several combat units or companies in the divisional campaigns. The telling of the divisional story through the medium of its companies adds value to the book because most of the current war histories are concerned mainly with the movements and activities of armies with the result that the actual combat units rarely have their stories told.

The book describes the campaign of the division from Omaha Beach, France, November 1, 1944, through the approaches to the Siegfried Line and through that line to the Elbe River and the historic junction with the Russians on May 2, 1945.

All concerned with the making of the book have contributed greatly to the knowledge of combat tactics of infantry groups. The book is in no sense a laudatory piece of public relations "handout" even though it is an official history. In some measure the amateurs of the 84th Division have produced a sounder work of combat history than many of the professional historians who have attempted that type of historical writing. The book is an attractive example of the publisher's art while the drawings and maps by Sergeant Walter H. Chapman are superb.

Beloit College.

GUSTAV E. JOHNSON.

Edward Eggleston. By William Peirce Randel. (King's Crown Press: New York, 1946. Pp. xi, 319. Bibliography and index. \$3.50.)

Here is a straightforward, workmanlike biography of the author of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, one of the minor classics of American literature. With great care and accuracy, Mr. Randel has told the story of Eggleston's life as a boy in southern Indiana, his experiences as a young preacher on the pre-Civil War Minnesota frontier, and his later career as editor, novelist, and historian in Chicago and New York.

Eggleston is depicted as one who was emotionally swayed by pioneer Methodism as a youth, becoming an orthodox circuit-riding minister, and then, as his horizons were widened by reading and by travel, becoming completely liberal in his religious views. His dissatisfaction with the narrowness of his life in Minnesota small towns, and his compelling ambition to make his mark in the literary world drove him to work long

and hard as the editor of a children's magazine, and as a contributor to popular and religious periodicals. Finally, rather late in life, he turned to the study and writing of American history, producing what is generally acknowledged by historiographers as the first substantial interpretation of American history from a social viewpoint as contrasted with the prevailing political "drum and trumpet" histories then being written for popular consumption. *Beginners of a Nation* and *The Transit of Civilization*, dealing as they did with the colonial period, represent but a start upon what Eggleston conceived as a serious and considered exposition of the true meaning of American history.

Eggleston's interest in social history grew out of his own life on the Middle Western frontier, and he had a deep and realistic understanding of the folkways and dialect of this region. From his own experiences, he drew the materials that went into *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* and other stories. His fame today as a man of letters rests upon this widely read classic, and even today the book is in demand in the public libraries of the nation.

Mr. Randel has produced a readable, and probably definitive biography that adds measurably to the ever-growing body of information about American authors and their work. The book has been competently edited with full documentation, and contains a useful chronological list of Eggleston's writings.

Mac Murray College.

WALTER B. HENDRICKSON.

Touched With Fire: Civil War Letters and Diary of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. 1861-1864. Edited by Mark De Wolfe Howe. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1946. Pp. 158. \$3.00.)

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., has long since become the prominent son of his father instead of the son of a prominent father. Throughout his entire life Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., looked back with great respect to his Civil War experience. In 1884 he said, "through our great good fortune, in our youth our hearts were touched with fire." It is significant, too, that in his own biography submitted to *Who's Who* Justice Holmes described in detail each of his three wounds, devoting six lines of text to his three years war service and less than two lines to the thirty years he sat in the United States Supreme Court, as one of the great liberal justices of the twentieth century. Everybody who wants to understand Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., must read this book.

J. M.

Lincoln's War Cabinet. By Burton J. Hendrick. (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1946. Pp. 482. \$5.00.)

Ever since the end of World War II Americans have been irritated by the attitude of Russia. The Soviet Union has appeared like an obstruction on the track to international peace. Molotov and his colleagues have blustered, sulked, walked out of sessions, stirred up strife, plotted against harmony. In our own Civil War, Lincoln's Secretary of State, William H. Seward, seems to have used identical tactics with foreign powers. This is not new to historians. But every time it is told—and told well—the facts remind readers that a knowledge of the past continues to be the best means of recognizing the true nature of the present. Burton Hendrick, brilliant writer about statesmen both past and present, tells the story of William H. Seward and also of the rest of Lincoln's official family with a narrative rich in anecdote and human understanding. In 1861 Abraham Lincoln formed a coalition cabinet "of all the talents." Readers of this *Journal* will enjoy Hendrick's vivacious explanation of Lincoln's change in policy after his second election. They will see before their own eyes a game of political chess with real live men upon the national board.

J. M.

Lincoln and Vandalia. By Lester O. Schriver and Joseph C. Burtschi. (Privately Printed: Peoria, 1946. Pp. 36.)

Lincoln went to Vandalia in 1834 a very green assemblyman. In 1839 the legislature, with Lincoln still a member, moved to Springfield. Lincoln in the meantime had been admitted to the bar, had been candidate for speaker of the House, was a recognized leader of the Whig Party, had started his long rivalry with Stephen A. Douglas and his important partnership with John T. Stuart. Vandalia was the background for much of this development. Lester Schriver and Joseph Burtschi outline the details of this important step in Lincoln's march to immortality. The work is based on their own research and notes furnished by Dr. Harry Pratt and Mr. Ira D. Lakin. The booklet also describes the three capitols built at Vandalia and reproduces a picture of the present state-owned building as it appeared before the portico was added in 1859.

J. M.

Lincoln Prescribes for Today: A Lincoln Day Address. By Stewart W. McClelland. (c1946 by the Principia Corporation: Elsah. Pp. 14.)

The Principia College of Liberal Arts at Elsah, Illinois, initiated a Lincoln program in 1943. Each year on the Martyr President's birthday

an outstanding scholar in the Lincoln field is invited to deliver an address. In 1945 Dr. Stewart McClelland, President of Lincoln Memorial University, spoke to the student body on February 12. In 1946 the address was published. It was written for the war years but it remains equally appropriate for peace. Dr. McClelland quotes Lincoln extensively to show his "common sense which keeps laughter close to the surface even in serious things," and his abiding faith in democracy during the four years in which democracy underwent its greatest test.

J. M.

Lincoln's Friend, Douglas: A Lincoln Day Address. By Robert Gerald McMurtry. (c1946 by the Principia Corporation: Elmhurst, Ill. Pp. 19.)

Principia College's fourth Lincoln Day address was delivered in 1946 by R. Gerald McMurtry, director of the Department of Lincolniana at Lincoln Memorial University. Dr. McMurtry outlined the rivalry—and friendship—between Lincoln and Douglas from the days of their first meeting in Vandalia until Lincoln became President of the United States. The two men stood very close together on the great issue of the day—slavery. The Negro would have fared equally perhaps under either of the rivals' solutions but there was one difference—a tremendous difference. Lincoln maintained that slavery was morally wrong. Douglas did not. "Undoubtedly Douglas' greatest weakness," McMurtry says, "was his failure to recognize as early, as did Mr. Lincoln, the real issue between the North and the South."

J. M.

Prairie Poems. By Reed Miles Perkins. (Privately printed: Springfield, Ill., 1946. Pp. 62.)

This little book of poems is dedicated to "all who take pleasure in their reading." Illinoisans will recognize their midlands in the following lines:

The sailor yearns for the open sea
The mountaineer for the granite rock;
But I am true to the reveille
Of the piping quail and the prairie cock.

To this add the following and the reader recognizes the Prairie State:

With ribs of steel and iron chest
Like straining dinosaurs,
The trains breeze out across the west
And drag their tails of cars.

Of course many poems in this book concern Abraham Lincoln. One pays homage to Ann Rutledge. Stephen A. Douglas receives his oft-neglected due. With a poet's sympathy the author outlines Mary Todd Lincoln's contributions to her husband's greatness and ends:

At last his life-blood left its tragic stain
Upon her dress and on her weary brain.

The book is not for sale. Friends of the author who have received copies might wish that it were, in order that more people could enjoy its charm:

When restless day has run his race
And healing night is here,
Like floating strands of mystic lace
The gnomes of sleep appear.

J. M.

Historic Bishop Hill. . . Bishop Hill Centennial Souvenir. [By Emmelyne Arnquist Hedstrom]. (The Times Record Company: Aledo, Ill., 1946. Pp. 104.)

This booklet was published as a souvenir for the Bishop Hill Centennial, September 22, 23, and 24, 1946. The historical sketch of this remarkable community was written by Emmelyne Arnquist Hedstrom who for some twenty years has been gathering material on Bishop Hill.

The rugged, Swedish disciples of Eric Janson founded here a colony so unique that its flavor has lingered down to the present in the quaintness and beauty of the village. So well did they build that visitors surrounded by a style of architecture characteristic of Sweden and England can still imagine themselves back a hundred years.

Like many other emigrants these early settlers left their homeland because of persecution and to seek religious freedom. In America they hoped to further the doctrines of Jansonism without fear of molestation. But not even in the new world was there freedom from strife. After the prophet Janson was slain in 1850, the community continued to thrive for several years. Buildings were erected and agriculture developed.

Financial mismanagement led to the dissolution of Bishop Hill Colony as a communistic society in 1861 and 1862. Another contributing factor for the breaking up of the community was the introduction of celibacy by the Board of Trustees. Had Janson lived, this folly might never have been sanctioned, and his forceful leadership might have kept the settlers united a little longer. As a colony, however, Bishop Hill was thorough. Many moved to Galva, many to neighboring farms. But the state was enriched by intelligent and thrifty people, forerunners of the

flood of Swedish immigrants soon to settle in Illinois, Minnesota, and the Dakotas.

S. A. W.

World War II. Honor List of Dead and Missing. State of Illinois. Prepared by the Adjutant General. (U. S. War Department: Washington, D. C., 1946. Pp. 94.)

State Summary of War Casualties [Illinois]. Compiled by the Casualty Section, Office of Public Information, Navy Department. (U. S. Navy Department: Washington, D. C., 1946. Pp. 125.)

These two volumes list the dead and missing from Illinois in World War II. The first is published by the War Department "for the information of public officials, the press, the radio and interested organizations." The War Department emphasizes, however, that this roster is preliminary and eventually will be superseded by a list which can be considered final. The companion volume, prepared by the Navy Department, lists casualties in the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard. In addition to the dead and missing, this volume includes also a list of wounded and prisoner of war. The Navy has interpreted "casualties" as those killed, wounded or missing in action or in operational activities against the enemy in war zones. Casualties in the United States area are not included. The Army on the other hand, lists all persons who died in line-of-duty status.

S. A. W.

A Volunteer's Adventures. A Union Captain's Record of the Civil War. By John William DeForest. (Yale University Press: New Haven, Conn. 1946. Pp. xviii, 237.)

Letters written to his wife, and numerous articles written for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* or the *Galaxy* between 1864 and 1868 make up this record of De Forest's experiences in the Civil War. These articles De Forest later revised, and about 1890, as a final step toward publication he rewrote the whole account under the present title. This, however, was its first publication. The manuscript is in the De Forest papers in Yale University Library. It has been edited by James H. Croushore, with an introduction by Stanley T. Williams, author, and professor of English at Yale University.

De Forest was a trained writer and this account of experiences in the Civil War is not just another oft-told tale. It is a living story. Particularly vivid are the accounts of the siege of Port Hudson, and "Sheridan's Victory of the Opequon." Another book of Civil War reminiscence

might seem inopportune, but any firsthand account as well written as his, is source material not to be overlooked.

S. A. W.

Life in Chatsworth, 1865-1885. By Catherine Bigham Brode. (Howard S. Brode Publisher: Santa Monica, Calif., 1946. Pp. 94. \$2.00.)

Autobiographical reminiscences of a life and a time that are gone make up this little volume. Though the author had not lived in Chatsworth nor even in Illinois for many, many years she recalls the past vividly. With interest one reads her descriptions of the home and the many customs and tasks of those faraway years. Cooking may have been a lot more difficult, but good food was certainly prepared on those old black ranges! While work was the order of the day for all, there were still many pastimes and pleasures appropriate to the season.

The section entitled "Village Vignettes" will doubtless recall pleasant memories to old residents of Chatsworth. The preface states that "the events recorded are real but the names of the people are for the most part fictitious."

S. A. W.

Mattoon, Origin and Growth. A Concise Historical Sketch of Mattoon and Coles County with a Special Chapter on Banking. By Alexander Summers. (National Bank of Mattoon: Mattoon, Ill. 1946. Pp. 27.)

This interesting souvenir booklet on Mattoon and the National Bank there was distributed at the formal opening of the bank's new and modern quarters in July, 1946. It is filled with good illustrations of bygone times in Mattoon and of the banking institution today. No attempt has been made to include much history of Mattoon since 1900. It is a concise booklet dealing with the birth and early years of the city and of the National Bank of Mattoon.

S. A. W.

The Lincolns in Virginia. By John W. Wayland. (The McClure Printing Company: Staunton, Va., 1946. Pp. 299. \$6.50.)

The author's interest in the Lincolns in Virginia goes back to 1903. Since then he has been collecting notes and data about them. The account begins specifically in 1716 when John Lincoln was born. Known as "Virginia John," he was the father of Abraham Lincoln who was the grandfather of President Abraham Lincoln. A "Chronology of the Virginia Lincolns" covers the years from 1716 to 1946. The book will appeal mainly to the Virginia Lincolns and their descendants who are interested in genealogy.

S. A. W.

NEWS AND COMMENT

This spring the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society is appearing in a new dress. We have chosen green as a suitable and hopeful color for March. The June *Journal* will be clad in blue, a cool color for summer wear. In September, we plan an autumnal brown and for December a warm red jacket. The editors hope that these recurring colors will appeal to our members. We want to be consistent in the seasonal change and will not resort to rancid yellow or vivid black and white unless forced to it by paper shortage or unusual emotional stress.

The cover illustration this month was painted by Henry Lewis, who made a trip down the Mississippi in a houseboat in the summer of 1846 sketching scenes as he passed them. The Piasa bird in this picture appeared on the smooth surface of a bluff on the Mississippi River above Alton, Illinois. Marquette first saw this pictograph in 1673. The drawing was quarried away in the winter of 1847.



An interesting program is being planned for the annual spring meeting and tour of the Illinois State Historical Society to be held, May 2-4, in La Salle County. The headquarters will be at the Hotel Kaskaskia in La Salle where there will be a dinner and evening meeting on May 2. The following day will be spent touring points of interest in La Salle County. These include Starved Rock State Park, the site of Fort St. Louis, built by La Salle in 1682. Buffalo Rock State Park is four miles west of Ottawa. Here Society members will see what is believed to be the site of Fort Ottawa in the French and Indian War. Ottawa itself has much to interest visitors—the site of the Lincoln-Douglas debate of 1858, the homes of General W. H. L. Wallace, Burton C. Cook, who placed the name of Lincoln in nomination for the presidency in 1864, and of John Hossack, the famous abolitionist. Other points of interest outside Ottawa include the Shabbona Monument; the home of James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok at Troy Grove; Earlville, where the first local woman's suffrage association was organized in Illinois in 1855; Norway, and the Norwegian Settlers' Monument, marking the site of the first Norwegian settlement; Seneca, said to be the site of the martyrdom of Father de la Ribourd; Mission Township, where the Rev. Jesse Walker established a mission for

the Potawatomi in 1826; Peru, the birthplace of Maud Powell, famous violinist; and in the town of La Salle, the home of Alexander Campbell, legislator and supporter of Abraham Lincoln. Oglesby, just south of La Salle, is the home of Congressman Noah M. Mason. Matthiessen State Park Nature Area is located two miles southwest of Starved Rock. It is a paradise for lovers of wild flowers and birds. All members of the Illinois State Historical Society are invited to join this spring tour of a historic and scenic section of Illinois. Programs will be mailed later.



The Illinois State Historical Society plans to renew its pre-war policy of publishing an occasional book for distribution to all members. The old name *Papers* will not be renewed. Instead the books will be called *Occasional Publications*. The first volume, to be distributed during the summer of 1947, is the diary of James T. Ayers, a McLean County lay-preacher who recruited Negro soldiers in the South during the Civil War—or tried to do so. He had many amusing, and some revealing, experiences. The Society is fortunate in being able to publish this extremely human document. It was called to our attention by Dr. John Hope Franklin who is editing the manuscript.



The decision of the judges in the Alfred W. Stern contest for essays on Illinois or Illinoisans in the Civil War will be announced in a later issue. It is surprising that only eight essays were submitted for this contest. Three of the contestants are college teachers, one is a graduate student, one a newspaper man, one a medical doctor, one a mechanic, and one a boy of thirteen. It is also surprising that half of the essays were submitted from outside the state—from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Kansas, and North Carolina. The other four were from residents of Illinois.



The Illinois State Historical Library has recently received from Mrs. Esther Perry Hornbacker of Lakeland, Florida, a medal won by her father at the Centennial Exhibition, 1876, in Philadelphia. The medal was awarded for a Percheron horse "Duc de Chartres." Mrs. Hornbacker's father was James A. Perry of Wilmington, Illinois.



Paul M. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society and formerly State Historian and Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State His-

torical Society, was awarded a certificate of appreciation by the War Department at a formal military presentation in Chicago on September 17, 1946. This citation, recognizing his civilian war services, is based on his notable contributions to the development of techniques for historical research and recording for the Army Air Force. Mr. Angle served on an intermittent basis, as a special consultant to the Air Service Command during 1944 and 1945.



The Apollo Musical Club of Chicago is celebrating its seventy-fifth anniversary. Organized in 1872 the Club has played an outstanding part in the musical history of Chicago. The Apollo Club has presented to Chicago the choral masterpieces of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Handel, Mendelssohn and many other famous composers.

A two-day festival will conclude this season with the presentation of Bach's "Mass in B Minor" on May 8, 1947, and "Pilgrim's Progress," by Edgar Stillman Kelley on May 9. Both concerts will be given in Orchestra Hall in Chicago and the chorus will be assisted by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

Under the direction of Harrison M. Wild, conductor from 1898 to 1928, the Club attained international importance. Mr. Wild resigned in 1928 and was succeeded by Dr. Edgar Nelson who is the present conductor of this imposing organization of 200 persons.



As part of its one hundredth anniversary celebration the *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph* published a 156-page edition on November 20, 1946. This issue included five sections and had more than nine hundred pictures that gave an excellent pictorial history of the paper and central Illinois for the past century.

The *Pantagraph* also held open house on the evenings of November 21 and 22. A special centennial exhibit was presented which featured the original manuscript of Lincoln's autobiography presented to Jesse Fell in 1860.



The Augustana Historical Society has recently published a second volume dealing with the organization and first conferences of the Augustana Synod and its work prior to 1860. The treatise, entitled *Selected Documents*, is edited by Ira O. Nothstein and contains the balance of the material not in the previous volume.

At the October, 1946, meeting of the Boone County Historical Society, representatives from each township described historical spots and famous landmarks in Boone County.

Mrs. Warren Lambert spoke at the November meeting on "Early History and Growth of Belvidere."



Miss Herma Clark presented her witty monologue, "The Elegant Eighties," on October 15, 1946, in a benefit program for the Bureau County Historical Society and the Princeton Woman's Club.

The will of the late Mrs. Alfred Norris left the large Norris residence on Park Avenue in Princeton to the Bureau County Historical Society.



Judge Joseph A. Troy was the main speaker at the November 26, 1946, meeting of the Cahokia Historical Society. His topic was "Thanksgiving and What it Really Means." C. F. Gergen reported on archaeological studies of the past summer and a résumé of the developments toward the restoration of Cahokia was given by Edwin J. Barman. Dorothy Williams, a high school student, read a paper on "The Cahokia Mounds."



A number of exhibitions were held at the Chicago Historical Society during the winter months. One was an exhibit of ninety-one Navy, Marine, and Coast Guard photographs of the war in the Pacific. Another was an exhibition of Anglo-American pottery by celebrated potters of the early nineteenth century. This was principally of Staffordshire ware. To commemorate the eighty-fourth anniversary of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln the Society exhibited the table at which the proclamation was signed and the pen used. A copy signed by Lincoln and Seward was also shown.



The South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) at its October, 1946, meeting heard Miss Katherine Handley speak on "Interesting People This Reporter Has Met in Her Work." George W. Abel, president, conducted the business portion of the meeting.

The DuPage County Historical Society, with headquarters at Elmhurst, is seeking contributions concerning the life and works of Benjamin Franklin Taylor, Wheaton poet and editor of the 1860's. The Society plans to print a biographical sketch of Taylor.



At the October, 1946, meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society O. R. Evans spoke on "Old Roads and Trails." A spelling match under the direction of Mrs. L. W. Bassett was the high light of the November program. In December Mrs. K. C. Hogue presented an interesting paper concerning Christmas in the English Settlement in very early days. She also read excerpts from an article, "Christmas in Early Egypt," by Barbara Burr Hubbs which appeared in the *Egyptian Key*, for December 1943.



The North Shore Camera Club will photograph historical landmarks in Evanston for the files of the Evanston Historical Society. Representatives of the Club met recently with Dr. Dwight F. Clark, president of the Society, to discuss details of the program.



Through the co-operation of the Geneva Historical Society, Norman Ross presented "Geneva week" last November on the Chicago and Northwestern Railway's "400" radio hour. He gave a "Historical Tour of Geneva" between musical numbers on the program which is heard on WMAQ, Chicago, from 7:00 to 7:55 A.M.



The Jefferson County Historical Society held its first regular meeting on December 3, 1946. After a business session, Curtis Williams read a paper entitled, "The Formation of State, County, Township, City, and Village."



At last fall's meeting of the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association, Miss Herma Clark talked on "Words Unknown to Our Fathers." Slides were shown of the "good old days" from 1870 to 1900.

The Lee County Historical Society heard Mrs. Frederick A. Sapp of Ottawa speak on "Early Historical Churches of Illinois" at its November, 1946, meeting in Dixon.



Dr. Edward S. Boyer of James Millikin University spoke at the meeting of the Macon County Historical Society in December, 1946. His topic was "Illini, a Yankee Community." Illini township was settled over eighty years ago. Dr. Boyer traced the history of the Illinois Congregational Church and the characteristics of some of its ministers.



The Edwardsville chapter of the Madison County Historical Society chartered a bus for a tour of Indian mound sites on Sunday, October 7, 1946. Arthur W. Jagers was leader of the expedition, and Mrs. Julian Vallette in charge of reservations for the trip.



A Mattoon Historical Society was organized on November 22, 1946. Craig Van Meter was elected president. Other officers are: Emily Oblinger, vice-president; Alex Summers, secretary-treasurer. The directors are: Dr. Horace Batchelor, Emily Oblinger, Blanche Gray, Fred Grant, and Walter A. Kemper. The Society will hold quarterly meetings with an annual meeting scheduled for October of each year. At the January meeting Dr. Glenn H. Seymour spoke on the "Strategy of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates."



The annual meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society was held in Jacksonville on January 18 at the Dunlap Hotel. Officers elected were: Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president; Frank J. Heintz, vice-president; Elizabeth Brooks, treasurer; Fidelia Abbott, secretary; Amelia DeMotte, custodian. Dr. McClelland gave a paper on William Henry Milburn. Technicolor movies of the MacMurray College Centennial closed the program.



Mrs. Lucille B. Carr gave an illustrated talk, "Chicago, Yesterday, and Today," before the Oak Park Historical Society last October 17. Frank Stevens is president of the Society.

When the Peoria Historical Society met last November, Virginia H. Chase and David Blair Owen were the principal speakers. Mr. Chase, great-grandson of Bishop Philander Chase, gave an account of Jubilee College and Bishop Chase. Mr. Owen, president of the Bradley Polytechnic Institute, described the life of Lydia Moss Bradley, founder of the school.



Monthly meetings are scheduled by the Saline County Historical Society. Last October, Mrs. Talitha E. Aaron told of the founding and early history of Eldorado. Established by Samuel Elder the town's name was originally Elderedo. James Bond spoke in November on "Early Guns and Firearms." "Early Post Offices in Saline County" was the topic of L. O. Trigg in December. In January, J. Ward Barnes discussed "The Salines," and Scerial Thompson read a paper prepared by C. Ersel Viryard on the operation of a pottery in Eagle Valley between 1846 and 1870.



An exhibition of paintings, etchings, and sculpture by Stephenson County artists was held in the Stephenson County Historical Society museum in December, 1946. A display of the Jane Addams historical collection of Indian pottery and relics preceded the art exhibit.



The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford entertained Dr. Gunnar Granberg of Stockholm, Sweden, at a luncheon last October. Dr. Granberg, who is head of the Swedish Institute for Cultural Relations with America, also spoke at a public meeting under the auspices of the Society on the topic, "Sweden As It Is Today."



The Winnetka Historical Society, when it met last October 16, heard Mrs. Frank Fuller read a paper on Winnetka based upon her personal observations. Sam Otis also talked on "Aspects of the Revolutionary War."

The Society is considering the erection of bronze markers for some of the historic sites of the village. At a meeting of the executive committee in December at the home of Miss Marion J. Russell, president of the Society, some thirty or more sites were suggested.

Catherine Stites died in Chicago on January 8. Formerly assistant librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library, Miss Stites had been for the past three years in charge of the Austin High School Branch of the Chicago Public Library. Funeral services were held in Hoopeston, Illinois.

MEMBERSHIP

In recent issues of the *Journal* we have published lists of new members of the Illinois State Historical Society. With this issue we are printing the entire personal, not institutional, membership as of December 31, 1946. Members who have joined the Society in January, February, and March of this year will be listed in the June number of the *Journal*.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Greene, Dr. E. B...Groton-on-Hudson, N.Y. Schmidt, Mrs. Minna.....Chicago, Ill

LIFE MEMBERS

Akers, Milburn P.....Chicago, Ill.
Bagby, Francis C.....Detroit, Mich.
Ball, Mrs. Fred.....Clinton, Ill.
Carton, Alfred T.....Chicago, Ill.
Dickinson, Walter Frederick.....
.....Jerico, Long Island, N. Y.
Evans, Dr. William A.....Aberdeen, Miss.
Ewing, Mrs. Spencer.....Bloomington, Ill.
Field, Marshall.....Chicago, Ill.
Gaither, Mary E.....Beverly Hills, Calif.
Goodwin-Perkins, Charles A.....
.....Hoopeston, Ill.
Hatch, Mrs. Pascal E.....Springfield, Ill.
Hay, Mrs. Alma Seipp.....Winnetka, Ill.
Hyde, James H.....New York, N. Y.
Ives, Mrs. Ernest L.....Bloomington, Ill.
King, Erman, A.....Cambridge, Ill.
Kinery, Robert.....Winnetka, Ill.

Lewe, Judge, John Charles.....	Chicago, Ill.
Ludington, Nelson John.....	Chicago, Ill.
Lytle, H. J.	Davenport, Iowa
Miller, Mrs. C. Phillip.....	Chicago, Ill.
Morton, Mark.....	West Chicago, Ill.
Parkell, Mrs. Fred.....	Belleville, Ill.
Paullin, Laura V.....	Evanston, Ill.
Pick, Mrs. George.....	Highland Park, Ill.
Richmond, Martha.....	Pekin, Ill.
Ripstra, J. Henri.....	Chicago, Ill.
Rosenthal, Hon. Lessing.....	Chicago, Ill.
Sage, Harold K.....	Normal, Ill.
Schmidt, Ernst C.....	Chicago, Ill.
Starbird, Myrtle I.....	Evanston, Ill.
Vandercook, R. O.....	Evanston, Ill.
Warren, David M.....	Panhandle, Texas
Williamson, Dr. M. R.....	Alton, Ill.

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Abbott, Fidelia Nichols . . . Jacksonville, Ill.
 Abrahamson, A. M. LaGrange, Ill.
 Abrahamson, Elmer E. Chicago, Ill.
 Abt, Paul S. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Adams, Mrs. Albyn Jacksonville, Ill.
 Adams, Mrs. Cuthbert C. . . . Winnetka, Ill.
 Adams, Edward E. Taylorville, Ill.
 Adams, Harold K. Bloomington, Ill.
 Adams, Katharine K. Chicago, Ill.
 Ahlstrand, Alf O. Rockford, Ill.
 Aishton, R. H. Evanston, Ill.
 Albade, Wells Chicago, Ill.
 Albrecht, Mrs. Sarah Delavan, Ill.
 Aldis, Graham Chicago, Ill.
 Aldrich, Frank W. Bloomington, Ill.

Alexander, Orville.....	Carbondale, I
Alford, Mrs. E. H.....	Tremont, I
Allen, George B.....	Chicago, I
Allen, John W.....	Carbondale, I
Allen, K. J.....	Evanston, I
Allerton, Robert.....	Chicago, I
Allyn, Mrs. Paul.....	Waverly, I
Alschuler, Jacob E.....	Aurora, I
Alzheimer, Ben J.....	Chicago, I
Altholz, Leo S.....	Chicago, I
Ambrose, Mrs. James B.....	Hudson, I
Ander, O. F.....	Rock Island, I
Andersen, Arlow W.....	Jamestown, N
Andersen, Arthur.....	Chicago, I
Anderson, A. J.....	Rockford, I

Anderson, Emil V.	Elkhart, Ind.	Bechtold, Dr. Edmond.	Belleville, Ill.
Anderson, Dr. Herbert W.	Moline, Ill.	Becker, Philip, Jr.	Peoria, Ill.
Anderson, Mrs. K. T.	Rock Island, Ill.	Beckman, Lieut. Ellen.	Arlington, Va.
Anderson, William.	Bloomington, Ill.	Behr, Carl.	Bloomington, Ill.
Andrews, Mr. & Mrs. Dalton M.	Oak Park, Ill.	Beifuss, Alexander.	Chicago, Ill.
Andrews, Mrs. Edna.	Sandoval, Ill.	Bell, Harry C.	Fulton, Ill.
Andris, Emil.	Marion, Ill.	Bellatti, Mrs. Walter.	Jacksonville, Ill.
Angle, Paul M.	Chicago, Ill.	Bellows, Clara O.	Sterling, Ill.
Anlie, Marshall B.	Auburn, Ill.	Bent, Horatio.	Bloomington, Ill.
Applegate, Mrs. Alice.	Aurora, Ill.	Bentley, Julian T.	Chicago, Ill.
Applegate, L. B.	Champaign, Ill.	Berdahl, Clarence A.	Urbana, Ill.
Armour, Mrs. Ogden.	Chicago, Ill.	Bereman, Mrs. James H.	Aurora, Ill.
Armstrong, Mrs. Mary.	Chandlerville, Ill.	Bergendoff, Conrad.	Rock Island, Ill.
Arnold, W. J.	Chicago, Ill.	Besse, Robert W.	Sterling, Ill.
Arp, Dr. A. Henry.	Moline, Ill.	Bessler, E. C.	Peoria, Ill.
Arrington, J. Earl. Hollis, Long Island, N. Y.		Best, G. Earl.	LaGrange, Ill.
Ash, Mrs. Etta Krum.	Alton, Ill.	Bevan, Judge Frank S.	Atlanta, Ill.
Atkins, Mrs. Ethel Welch.	Lincoln, Ill.	Beyer, Richard L.	Eric, Pa.
Auld, Dr. Frank P.	Shelbyville, Ill.	Biasi, Mrs. Edna S.	Normal, Ill.
Ausburg, Mrs. Alta Baltzell.	Chicago, Ill.	Bicket, Marion McClure.	Indianola, Miss.
Austin, C. Henry.	Chicago, Ill.	Bird, Mrs. David B.	Chicago, Ill.
Austin, Hon. H. W.	Oak Park, Ill.	Bjorkstrom, Erik.	Rockford, Ill.
Baber, Adin J.	Kansas, Ill.	Black, John D.	Chicago, Ill.
Bach, Dr. William.	Manhattan, Kan.	Black, John W.	Springfield, Ill.
Bailey, Dr. Percival.	Chicago, Ill.	Blackstock, Mrs. Ira B.	Springfield, Ill.
Baker, Clara M.	Decatur, Ill.	Blair, Mrs. John H.	Chicago, Ill.
Baker, E. J.	Chicago, Ill.	Blatchford, Mrs. Paul.	River Forest, Ill.
Baker, Mrs. Glenna B.	El Paso, Ill.	Bley, Mrs. Walter C.	Beardstown, Ill.
Baker, Harold G.	Belleville, Ill.	Blood, Charles Kenneth.	Springfield, Ill.
Baker, Max K.	Chicago, Ill.	Blunk, Clifford M.	Springfield, Ill.
Baker, Murray M.	Peoria, Ill.	Blunt, Curtis E.	Evanston, Ill.
Baldwin, Dr. James M.	Salem, Ill.	Bodine, Marcy.	Macomb, Ill.
Bale, Ida L.	Petersburg, Ill.	Bodman, W. S.	Flossmoor, Ill.
Ball, Allen.	Carmi, Ill.	Boekenhoff, R.	Quincy, Ill.
Ballard, Ernest S.	Chicago, Ill.	Bogy, Mrs. Jettie R.	St. Louis, Mo.
Ballard, Henry S.	Columbus, Ohio	Bohman, George V.	Hanover, N. H.
Baltzer, Miss Joyce.	Dakota, Ill.	Bohrer, Mrs. Florence Fifer.	Bloomington, Ill.
Barber, Clayton J.	Springfield, Ill.	Bollinger, Hon. James W.	Davenport, Iowa
Barclay, George A.	Chicago, Ill.	Bonnell, Clarence.	Harrisburg, Ill.
Baringer, William E.	Springfield, Ill.	Bonser, Louella.	Pana, Ill.
Barner, Morton D.	Springfield, Ill.	Bonzi, Miss Marion D.	Springfield, Ill.
Barnes, Cecil.	Chicago, Ill.	Booton, Joseph F.	Chicago, Ill.
Barnes, Mrs. Ella B.	Carmi, Ill.	Borland, Dr. Robert L.	Hollywood, Calif.
Barnes, Mrs. Lester.	Carbondale, Ill.	Borucki, T. J.	Berwyn, Ill.
Barnes, Mrs. William.	Decatur, Ill.	Bour, Louis.	Peoria, Ill.
Barnett, G. R.	Peoria, Ill.	Bowman, Mrs. A. M.	Sterling, Ill.
Barrett, Oliver R.	Chicago, Ill.	Boynton, F. P.	Highland Park, Ill.
Barrieger, John W., III.	Chicago, Ill.	Bozeman, Adda Bruemmer.	Rock Island, Ill.
Bartlett, Frederic C.	Beverly, Mass.	Bracken, W. K.	Bloomington, Ill.
Bartoszewski, John G.	LaSalle, Ill.	Bradford, Florence.	Moline, Ill.
Barton, Robert.	Foxboro, Mass.	Bradley, Dr. Preston.	Chicago, Ill.
Bastien, Alvin E.	Chicago, Ill.	Bradt, Mrs. Samuel E.	DeKalb, Ill.
Bateman, F. Donald.	Barrington, Ill.	Brannan, Mrs. J. A.	Jerseyville, Ill.
Bates, Alfred R.	Chicago, Ill.	Brasel, Mrs. Glenn D.	Hoopeston, Ill.
Bates, Mrs. Robert P.	Chicago, Ill.	Bray, F. M.	Joliet, Ill.
Baugild, Mrs. Mary Sahula.	Chicago, Ill.	Brewer, Harry F.	Chicago, Ill.
Bailey, Ray W. G.	Cambria, Wis.	Brewer, John M.	Marion, Ill.
Bach, J. E.	Chicago, Ill.	Brian, Mrs. F. B.	Toulon, Ill.
Barmore, Mrs. Sarah.	Maquon, Ill.	Bridgman, Louis W.	Madison, Wis.
		Briggs, Harold E.	Carbondale, Ill.

- Briggs, Morris H. Chicago, Ill.
 Briggs, W. A. Gary, Ind.
 Brigham, Wm. B. Bloomington, Ill.
 Broecker, Dr. Hugo Quincy, Ill.
 Bromwell, Matthew Scott Lake Forest, Ill.
 Brons, Ray N. Peoria, Ill.
 Bronson, Mr. & Mrs. Earle A. . . . Evanston, Ill.
 Brooks, Hon. C. Wayland
 Washington, D. C.
 Brooks, Elizabeth Jacksonville, Ill.
 Broomell, Kenneth F. Lexington, Ky.
 Brown, Charles LeRoy Chicago, Ill.
 Brown, George H. Lincoln, Ill.
 Brown, Gilson Alton, Ill.
 Brown, Lloyd H. Sterling, Ill.
 Brown, Wilson Hinsdale, Ill.
 Brucker, Gene A. Urbana, Ill.
 Brunk, Dorothy Garrett Bloomington, Ill.
 Budd, Ralph Chicago, Ill.
 Bullard, F. Lauriston
 Melrose Highlands, Mass.
 Bunge, George C. Chicago, Ill.
 Bunn, George W., Jr. Springfield, Ill.
 Burford, C. C. Urbana, Ill.
 Burgess, Samuel A. Independence, Mo.
 Burke, Harry R. St. Louis, Mo.
 Burke, L. Singer E. St. Louis, Ill.
 Burke, Webster H. Evanston, Ill.
 Burns, Frank Sivers Peoria, Ill.
 Burroughs, George D. Edwardsville, Ill.
 Burton, Charles Pierce Aurora, Ill.
 Burton, George C. St. Petersburg, Fla.
 Butler, Burrige D. Chicago, Ill.
 Butler, L. M. Putnam, Ill.
 Butler, Ruth Lapham Chicago, Ill.
 Butz, H. R. Winnetka, Ill.
 Byram, Stanley H. Martinsville, Ind.
 Byrne, Mrs. T. J. Wilmette, Ill.
 Byrnes, John E. Brighton, Ill.

 Caldwell, David D. Washington, D. C.
 Caldwell, Edward New York, N. Y.
 Caldwell, Frank W. Peoria, Ill.
 Caldwell, Norman Carbondale, Ill.
 Calkins, Earnest Elmo New York, N. Y.
 Calkins, Ira R. Quincy, Ill.
 Cameron, Surridge Chicago, Ill.
 Camit, Ernest J. Chicago, Ill.
 Campbell, Bruce A. Belleville, Ill.
 Campbell, Charlotte Knoxville, Ill.
 Campbell, F. G. Chicago, Ill.
 Campbell, Herbert John Chicago, Ill.
 Canman, Richard W. Chicago, Ill.
 Capps, Dr. Joseph A. Chicago, Ill.
 Cardinal, Rev. Edward V. Chicago, Ill.
 Carl, Rev. George Truman Park Ridge, Ill.
 Carlsen, Dr. Haldor Chicago, Ill.
 Carlson, Albert G. Moline, Ill.
 Carlson, Leland H. Evanston, Ill.
 Carlson, Martin R. Moline, Ill.

 Carlson, T. L. Macomb, Ill.
 Carr, George R. Chicago, Ill.
 Carr, Mrs. Raymond S. LaGrange, Ill.
 Carr, Robert Adams Chicago, Ill.
 Carrott, J. W. Quincy, Ill.
 Carter, C. C. Bluffs, Ill.
 Carter, Clarence E. Washington, D. C.
 Carter, Mrs. I. Ray Danville, Ill.
 Carveth, C. E. LaSalle, Ill.
 Case, W. R. Chicago, Ill.
 Cassels, Edwin H. Chicago, Ill.
 Cassidy, John E. Peoria, Ill.
 Cassidy, Mrs. R. M. Elburn, Ill.
 Celeste, Sister Mary Leger Chicago, Ill.
 Chada, Joseph Cicero, Ill.
 Chandler, Edwin W. Chicago, Ill.
 Chapman, Albert H. Chicago, Ill.
 Chapman, Mrs. Theodore S. Jerseyville, Ill.
 Charnney, Theodore S. Chicago, Ill.
 Charnney, Mrs. Theodore S. . . . Chicago, Ill.
 Chase, H. B. & Evelyn Kewanee, Ill.
 Chase, Virginus H. Peoria Heights, Ill.
 Chenier, Mizpah Chicago, Ill.
 Chindblom, Carl R. Chicago, Ill.
 Chione, Dr. A. G. Danvers, Ill.
 Chownen, Richard H. Chicago, Ill.
 Christenson, John A. Chicago, Ill.
 Chubbuck, Mrs. H. Eugene Peoria, Ill.
 Clark, Arthur H. Glendale, Cal.
 Clark, Dr. Dwight F. Evanston, Ill.
 Clark, Roger H. Yorkville, Ill.
 Clayton, Mrs. Sherman Springfield, Ill.
 Clements, Charles Springfield, Ill.
 Cline, M. Gladys Litchfield, Ill.
 Cochrane, C. M. Davenport, Iowa
 Coffman, Paul Lincoln, Ill.
 Coleman, Charles H. Charleston, Ill.
 Coleman, Mrs. Lloyd Frankfort, Ill.
 Collins, Charles Evanston, Ill.
 Conklin, E. L. Pekin, Ill.
 Conn, Robert L. Springfield, Ill.
 Conner, Thomas J. Prairie du Rocher, Ill.
 Conover, H. B. Chicago, Ill.
 Converse, Dr. Albert E. Springfield, Ill.
 Converse, Burton E. Decatur, Ill.
 Converse, Henry A. Springfield, Ill.
 Cook, John Hutchinson Trenton, N. J.
 Cooke, Edwin H. Bloomington, Ill.
 Coolidge, E. Channing Chicago, Ill.
 Cope, Mr. & Mrs. A. J. Springfield, Ill.
 Corneau, Mrs. Barton Boston, Mass.
 Corrie, H. G. Rushville, Ill.
 Coster, Gordon Chicago, Ill.
 Coultas, W. J. Moline, Ill.
 Covington, Mrs. William S.
 Lake Forest, Ill.
 Cowan, Ernest J. Evanston, Ill.
 Cox, Mrs. M. E. Robinson, Ill.
 Cox, W. C. Chicago, Ill.
 Crabb, Mrs. A. Richard Naperville, Ill.

raig, Mrs. Evelyn Swanson	Dixon, Hon. George C.	Dixon, Ill.
..... Bishop Hill, Ill.	Doane, Mrs. W. W.	Decatur, Ill.
akes, C. R.	Dobbs, Hugh J.	Springfield, Ill.
..... Chicago, Ill.	Doden, Margrete	Chadwick, Ill.
ram, Norman Lee	Dodson, Earl E.	Danville, Ill.
..... Chicago, Ill.	Dokmo, Rolf E.	Park Ridge, Ill.
ramer, Ambrose C.	Donald, David	Urbana, Ill.
..... Washington, D. C.	Donelan, Dr. T. P.	Springfield, Ill.
ramer, C. H.	Donelson, Mrs. Kathline	Bloomington, Ill.
..... Arlington, Va.	Donnelley, Gaylord	Chicago, Ill.
ramer, J. H.	Donnelley, Naomi	Chicago, Ill.
..... Cleveland, Ohio	Donnelley, Thomas E.	Chicago, Ill.
rawford, Mrs. Lawrence M.	Dornseif, Frederic J.	Chicago, Ill.
..... Libertyville, Ill.	Dorr, Mrs. Otto	Chandlerville, Ill.
rowder, Carl M.	Dorsey, Harvey	Moro, Ill.
..... Bethany, Ill.	Doud, Joseph M.	Atlanta, Ill.
rum, Dr. E. W.	Dougherty, John A.	Cairo, Ill.
..... Waverly, Ill.	Dougherty, Mary E.	Cairo, Ill.
udahy, Joseph M.	Douglas, C. H.	Mattoon, Ill.
..... Chicago, Ill.	Douglas, Mrs. Emily Taft Washington, D. C.
ullivan, David J.	Douglas, Paul H.	Chicago, Ill.
..... Blue Island, Ill.	Doyle, Mrs. C. J.	Springfield, Ill.
ulmer, Thad W., II	Drake, Julia A.	Athens, Ala.
..... Robinson, Ill.	Drake, Mrs. William McC.	Elkhart, Ill.
ummings, Emmett E.	Draper, N. W.	Carbondale, Ill.
..... Rockford, Ill.	Drennan, Dr. & Mrs. George L. Jacksonville, Ill.
urtis, Mrs. Effie Reavis	Driemeyer, Henry	E. St. Louis, Ill.
..... Terre Haute, Ind.	Droste, O. H.	Springfield, Ill.
utler, Henry E.	Drury, John	Chesterton, Ind.
..... Chicago, Ill.	Dudley, Mrs. Gerry B.	Charleston, Ill.
adant, M. G.	Duffy, Mollie	Dixon, Ill.
..... Hamilton, Ill.	Dugan, Frank H.	Edenburg, Tex.
ale, E. E.	Dukes, Edgar L.	Albion, Ill.
..... Norman, Okla.	Dunbar, Louise Burnham	Urbana, Ill.
allenbach, Dr. J. C.	Duncan, Joseph S.	Chicago, Ill.
..... Campaign, Ill.	Dungan, M. s. George H.	Urbana, Ill.
almar, Mrs. Hugo	Dunham, William H.	Evanston, Ill.
..... Evanston, Ill.	Dunn, Mrs. Cozette	Peoria, Ill.
alrymple, John A.	Dunn, Mrs. Inez	Bloomington, Ill.
..... Dearborn, Mich.	Dunn, Mrs. R. R.	Waukegan, Ill.
anberg, Martin C.	Dunn, Thomas G.	Morris, Ill.
..... Moline, Ill.	Dworsky, Leonard	Chicago, Ill.
anforth, Asa H.	East, Ernest E.	Peoria, Ill.
..... Washington, Ill.	East, W. E.	Chicago, Ill.
anforth, Herman W.	Ebersold, Frederick A. North Hollywood, Calif.
..... Danforth, Ill.	Eckersall, Edwin R.	Chicago, Ill.
ansey, Mrs. M. Bruington	Edmunds, Palmer D.	La Hogue, Ill.
..... Chicago, Ill.	Edwards, Ellen S.	Normal, Ill.
arneille, Frank	Edwards, Joe	Bloomington, Ill.
..... Springfield, Ill.	Egan, Rev. Joseph M.	Chicago, Ill.
avenport, Richard C.	Eich, John	Chicago, Ill.
..... Harrisburg, Ill.	Eisendrath, Joseph L., Jr. Highland Park, Ill.
avidson, Louis G.	Eisenschiml, Otto	Chicago, Ill.
..... Chicago, Ill.	Ekblaw, Mrs. K. J. T.	Eustis, Fla.
avidson, Martha McNeill	Ellington, Lena Boyd	Charleston, Ill.
..... Greenville, Ill.	Elliott, Eugene C.	Danville, Ill.
avies, Owen		
..... Chicago, Ill.		
avis, Dr. Carl B.		
..... Winnetka, Ill.		
avis, Charles F.		
..... Wilmette, Ill.		
avis, Dana		
..... Mt. Sterling, Ill.		
avis, Edwin D.		
..... Decatur, Ill.		
avis, Emery H.		
..... Anna, Ill.		
avis, H. M.		
..... Evanston, Ill.		
avis, Philip R.		
..... Chicago, Ill.		
avis, Samuel S.		
..... Rock Island, Ill.		
awes, Gen. Charles G.		
..... Chicago, Ill.		
awes, Henry M.		
..... Chicago, Ill.		
DeFratics, Mrs. Grace		
..... Springfield, Ill.		
DeHass, Minnie		
..... Lincoln, Ill.		
DeKoven, Mrs. Reginald		
..... New York, N. Y.		
DeLinck, Martin J.		
..... Salem, Ill.		
elle, Lee C.		
..... Yakima, Wash.		
eneen, Florence		
..... Chicago, Ill.		
enison, E. E.		
..... Marion, Ill.		
Dennehy, Rev. Thomas		
..... Westmont, Ill.		
Derby, William B.		
..... Chicago, Ill.		
Dertinger, James E.		
..... Bushnell, Ill.		
Dewey, Charles S.		
..... Washington, D. C.		
Dewhirst, David M.		
..... Maroa, Ill.		
DeWitt, Maurice		
..... Mt. Vernon, Ill.		
Dicke, L. E.		
..... Evanston, Ill.		
Dierssen, Ferd W.		
..... Chicago, Ill.		
Dilliard, Irving		
..... Collinsville, Ill.		
Dillon, Jessie M.		
..... Normal, Ill.		
Dirkson, Theodor J.		
..... Springfield, Ill.		
Dix, Dorothy F.		
..... Chicago, Ill.		

- Elliott, Frank R. Chicago, Ill.
 Elliott, James H. Danville, Ill.
 Ellis, George P. Chicago, Ill.
 Ellsworth, Mrs. F. J. Knoxville, Ill.
 Embee, Waite W. DeKalb, Ill.
 Emery, DeWitt Chicago, Ill.
 Eovaldi, Benedict W. Benton, Ill.
 Erickson, Rev. Gustav Rockford, Ill.
 Ericson, Mrs. Wylie Bishop Hill, Ill.
 Erikson, Stanley Rockford, Ill.
 Erminger, Mrs. H. B. Chicago, Ill.
 Eskew, James W. Findlay, Ill.
 Etherton, J. Everett Carbondale, Ill.
 Eustice, Mrs. A. L. Evanston, Ill.
 Evans, Mrs. Donald W. Peoria, Ill.
 Evans, Myrtis Peoria, Ill.
 Evans, O. R. Albion, Ill.
 Evans, U. L. Shelbyville, Ill.
 Everett, R. M. Galva, Ill.
 Evers, Fred C. Elmhurst, Ill.
 Eversole, John Henley Clayton, Mo.
 Ewing, Mrs. Charles A. Decatur, Ill.

 Fairbank, Mrs. Kellogg Chicago, Ill.
 Faissler, John J. Chicago, Ill.
 Farley, J. K., Jr. Evanston, Ill.
 Farr, Newton C. Chicago, Ill.
 Faulkner, Elizabeth Chicago, Ill.
 Fay, Herbert Wells Springfield, Ill.
 Feiveson, Theodore J. Chicago, Ill.
 Felts, David V. Decatur, Ill.
 Fencken, Lee O. Chicago, Ill.
 Fergus, Robert Collyer Chicago, Ill.
 Ferrell, Garland P. Beaumont, Kan.
 First, Georgia T. Rock Island, Ill.
 Fischer, F. X. Aurora, Ill.
 Fischer, LeRoy Stillwater, Okla.
 Fish, Mrs. Helen S. Chicago, Ill.
 Fisher, Mr. & Mrs. Walter T. Winnetka, Ill.
 Fitch, Bryant Chicago, Ill.
 Fitzgerald, Gertrude S. Benton, Ill.
 Flack, LeGrand A. Effingham, Ill.
 Flagg, Norman G. Moro, Ill.
 Flanagan, John T. Urbana, Ill.
 Fleischer, G. A. Chicago, Ill.
 Fleming, George J., Jr. Chicago, Ill.
 Fleming, Joseph B. Lake Forest, Ill.
 Fleming, Mrs. R. M. Bloomington, Ill.
 Flinn, Bernard W. Rockford, Ill.
 Floden, Tuve J. Rockford, Ill.
 Foley, Mrs. George Sterling, Ill.
 Folsom, Wm. R. Chicago, Ill.
 Fordyce, Dr. A. W. Gilman, Ill.
 Foster, Charles L. Monticello Ind.
 Foster, W. H. Eureka, Ill.
 Foster, W. R. Ottawa, Ill.
 Foster, Rabbi Solomon East Orange, N. J.
 Fowler, August L. Marion, Ill.
 Fowley, Lucille V. Detroit, Mich.
 Fox, Jacob Logan Chicago, Ill.
 Frank, Seymour J. Chicago, Ill.

 Frankenthal, Dr. Lester E. Chicago, Ill.
 Frase, Mrs. Frances Mayfield Chicago, Ill.
 Freeman, Charles Y. Chicago, Ill.
 Freeman, Capt. L. W. Moline, Ill.
 Freeto, Clarence River Forest, Ill.
 French, George T. Moline, Ill.
 Freund, Erwin Chicago, Ill.
 Friberg, Theodore L. Rockford, Ill.
 Fricke, Fred Sibley, Ill.
 Friedland, Sidney Chicago, Ill.
 Frueh, Erne R. Chicago, Ill.
 Frye, Edward Bloomington, Ill.
 Fulfs, Mrs. Mary Small Dixon, Ill.
 Fuller, Dr. S. S. Riverside, Ill.
 Funk, Donald S. Springfield, Ill.
 Funke, Rev. Henry J. Carbondale, Ill.
 Furlong, William E. Chicago, Ill.
 Fyfe, Robert W. Chicago, Ill.

 Gaddis, Sibley B. Mt. Sterling, Ill.
 Gaffney, Mrs. E. C. Lincoln, Ill.
 Gage, Daniel J. Decatur, Ill.
 Galbraith, Mrs. Caroline
 Los Angeles, Calif.
 Gard, Mrs. Dorothy M. Champaign, Ill.
 Garman, Horace B. Decatur, Ill.
 Garrison, Dr. William H. White Hall, Ill.
 Geilen, Joseph H. Chicago, Ill.
 Geilen, Marie E. Chicago, Ill.
 Gentile, Edward Oak Park, Ill.
 George, Adda Gentry Galesburg, Ill.
 Gerken, C. A. Portland, Ore.
 Gernon, Blaine Brooks Chicago, Ill.
 Gernon, Dr. J. T. C. Chicago, Ill.
 Gersbacher, Mrs. W. M. Carbondale, Ill.
 Gertz, Elmer Chicago, Ill.
 Getz, James R. Lake Forest, Ill.
 Gibson, George M. West Des Moines, Iowa.
 Giddings, A. M. Battle Creek, Mich.
 Gieseke, Raymond H. Chicago, Ill.
 Gilbert, Dr. N. C. Chicago, Ill.
 Giles, Brother O. S. F. Mount Sinai, N. Y.
 Gill, John G. Alton, Ill.
 Gill, Stanley R. Grafton, Ill.
 Gilpin, Mrs. Sam A. Carmi, Ill.
 Gilster, Albert H. Chester, Ill.
 Gladson, Guy A. Wilmette, Ill.
 Glass, James Robert Chicago, Ill.
 Goble, George W. Urbana, Ill.
 Goble, Leroy T. Chicago, Ill.
 Godchaux, Leon Chicago, Ill.
 Goff, Dr. Arthur C. Staunton, Ill.
 Goff, Harold Pleasant Hill, Ill.
 Goff, Rev. John J. Effingham, Ill.
 Goldberg, Arthur J. Chicago, Ill.
 Goldberg, Ben J. Chicago, Ill.
 Golden, Harry G. Richmond, Ind.
 Goltra, Mrs. Mabel Hall Jacksonville, Ill.
 Gooch, Hettie Chicago, Ill.
 Goodapple, Clarence G. Quincy, Ill.
 Goodknight, Mrs. C. S. Pasadena, Calif.

Boodspeed, C. T. B.	Pasadena, Calif.	Harmon, Mrs. Polly	Springfield, Ill.
Bore, Mrs. Edward E.	Evanston, Ill.	Harno, Albert J.	Urbana, Ill.
Bore, Herman R.	Chicago, Ill.	Harper, Josephine L.	Champaign, Ill.
Braff, Everett D.	Winnetka, Ill.	Harrell, W. B.	Chicago, Ill.
Graham, James M.	Springfield, Ill.	Harris, Cora B.	Macomb, Ill.
Grant, Walter J.	Danville, Ill.	Harris, Mrs. Jesse W.	Carbondale, Ill.
Graul, Warren	St. Louis, Mo.	Harriss, Clarence W.	Mt. Vernon, Ill.
Gray, Mrs. Avis	Gibson City, Ill.	Harrod, Mary Eleanor	Eureka, Ill.
Gray, W. A.	Chicago, Ill.	Harrold, James P.	Chicago, Ill.
Green, Mrs. Madge Miller	West York, Ill.	Harry, Rev. Sidney B.	St. Louis, Mo.
Green, Mrs. Ruth R.	Beardstown, Ill.	Harshberger, Ernest M.	Urbana, Ill.
Greenlee, Mrs. Gaines	Petersburg, Ill.	Hart, Hugh D.	Monmouth, Ill.
Greenlee, William B.	Chicago, Ill.	Hart, W. L.	Winona Lake, Ind.
Greenly, A. H.	Hoboken, N. J.	Harts, David H.	Lincoln, Ill.
Gregory, James P., Jr.	Lexington, Ky.	Hartzler, J. D.	Wellman, Iowa
Grennan, Mary L.	Chicago, Ill.	Harvey, Mrs. W. Dow	Macomb, Ill.
Grey, Charles F.	Chicago, Ill.	Haskell, C. H.	Glenview, Ill.
Grey, Louise	Evanston, Ill.	Haskell, Fritz	Winchester, Ill.
Gridley, Charles A.	Virginia, Ill.	Hassenstein, Herbert G.	Bloomington, Ill.
Griffith, Albert H.	Oshkosh, Wis.	Hastings, Dwight B.	Decatur, Ill.
Griffith, Will	Carbondale, Ill.	Hatch, Pascal E.	Springfield, Ill.
Grigsby, E. D.	Macomb, Ill.	Hatten, Mrs. J. H.	Galesburg, Ill.
Grimes, Henry H.	Lakeland, Fla.	Hauberg, John H.	Rock Island, Ill.
Gronlund, Hubert K.	Elgin, Ill.	Hauberg, Louis	Cordova, Ill.
Grow, M. D.	Geneva, Ill.	Hawkins, Richard W.	Highland Park, Ill.
Gruker, Algeron C.	Red Bud, Ill.	Hawks, J. K. P.	Bloomington, Ill.
Gullberg, E. A.	Moline, Ill.	Hay, Mrs. Logan	Springfield, Ill.
Gullett, H. Leo	Palestine, Ill.	Hayden, Arthur L.	Wellesley Hills, Mass.
Gunn, Mrs. Walter T.	Danville, Ill.	Hayes, David	Chicago, Ill.
Gurley, Mrs. Nellie Blake	St. Louis, Mo.	Hayes, Jenilee	Bloomington, Ill.
		Hayes, Mrs. W. B.	Champaign, Ill.
		Hays, Roy	Detroit, Mich.
Haberkorn, Mrs. Ruth Ewers	Princeton, Ill.	Hayter, Earl W.	DeKalb, Ill.
Hackman, Mrs. Frank H.	E. St. Louis, Ill.	Hayward, Oscar Chase	Winnetka, Ill.
Hagan, James J.	Eureka, Ill.	Hazard, S. Robert	Chicago, Ill.
Hahn, Mannel	Winnetka, Ill.	Hazlett, Dr. William H.	Chicago, Ill.
Hain, Mrs. Veit A.	Chicago, Ill.	Heald, Henry T.	Chicago, Ill.
Halbert, William U.	Belleville, Ill.	Healy, John J.	Chicago, Ill.
Hale, Hugh R.	Carmi, Ill.	Healy, Mrs. Paul J.	Lake Forest, Ill.
Hall, Betty	Evanston, Ill.	Heaps, Mr. & Mrs. S. L.	Kewanee, Ill.
Hall, Mr. & Mrs. Carrol C.	Springfield, Ill.	Hebert, Walter H.	Chicago, Ill.
Hall, Dr. E. S.	McLeansboro, Ill.	Heckman, John	Polio, Ill.
Hall, Elihu Nicholas	Elizabethtown, Ill.	Hedstrom, Mrs. Walter T.	Bishop Hill, Ill.
Hall, Ernest M.	Huntingdon, Pa.	Heidler, Samuel H.	Springfield, Ill.
Hall, Capt. Thomas R.	Golconda, Ill.	Heinl, Frank J.	Jacksonville, Ill.
Hall, Mrs. W. E.	Jacksonville, Ill.	Hemingway, Emma George	Chicago, Ill.
Hamer, John M.	Wilmette, Ill.	Hendee, Robert W.	Colorado Springs, Colo.
Hamill, Alfred E.	Lake Forest, Ill.	Henderson, Alfred J.	Jacksonville, Ill.
Hamilton, Delbert W.	Carbondale, Ill.	Hendrickson, Walter B.	Jacksonville, Ill.
Hamm, Mrs. Edward	Hudson, Ill.	Hennan, Dr. Clarence William	Chicago, Ill.
Hanes, Mrs. S. J.	Springfield, Ill.	Henniges, Ludwig K. T.	Chicago, Ill.
Hankins, H. H.	Ottawa, Ill.	Herdman, John N.	Monmouth, Ill.
Hanley, Henry L.	Chicago, Ill.	Hereford, Mrs. John	St. Louis, Mo.
Hanley, Mrs. Sarah Bond	Springfield, Ill.	Herrick, Charles E.	Rockford, Ill.
Hannant, Owen	Griggsville, Ill.	Herrin, Eurilla	Chicago, Ill.
Hansen, Dr. Arthur C.	Milwaukee, Wis.	Hershenson, Lt. Col. Harry G.	Chicago, Ill.
Hansen, Harry	New York, N. Y.	Hess, Mrs. Roy G.	Momence, Ill.
Hanson, Earl	Rock Island, Ill.	Hewes, E. C.	Danville, Ill.
Hantke, Richard W.	Lake Forest, Ill.	Hewitt, Herbert H.	Chicago, Ill.
Harbert, Mrs. George E.	Park Ridge, Ill.	Hibben, Mrs. Mae B.	Chicago, Ill.
Harding, J. Harvey	Monticello, Ill.	Hicken, Victor	Seymour, Ill.
Hardy, James F.	Albion, Ill.		
Harrgett, Lester	Washington, D. C.		

Hickey, James T.	Elkhart, Ill.	Iben, Icko.	Urbana, Ill.
Higgins, Lawrence A.	Chicago, Ill.	Iddings, Dr. John W.	Crown Point, Ind.
Hildner, Ernest G., Jr.	Jacksonville, Ill.	Ide, Mrs. Francis P.	Springfield, Ill.
Hildreth, Mrs. C. F.	Freeport, Ill.	Ide, Robert L.	Springfield, Ill.
Hill, Mrs. J. D. G.	Lincoln, Ill.	Ireland, Mrs. Charles H.	Washburn, Ill.
Hill, William C.	Homewood, Ill.	Irwin, Mrs. Lois.	Quincy, Ill.
Hillebrecht, Herbert E.	Chicago, Ill.	Irwin, Mac.	Quincy, Ill.
Hillmer, H. A.	Freeport, Ill.	Irwin, Mrs. Zona.	Bloomington, Ill.
Himmel, W. G.	Washington, Ill.	Ittner, Vernon W.	Highland, Ill.
Hinckley, Mrs. Freeman.	Chicago, Ill.		
Hine, Allen T.	Peoria, Ill.	Jackson, J. R.	Freeport, Ill.
Hirschl, Mrs. Marcus Andrew.	Chicago, Ill.	Jackson, Zerny M.	Champaign, Ill.
Hobbs, John W.	Springfield, Ill.	Jacobson, E. R.	Chicago, Ill.
Hobbs, Mrs. John Wilbourn.	Jefferson City, Mo.	Jaeger, Edward W.	Chicago, Ill.
		Jaenicken, Frederick H.	Chicago, Ill.
Hochmark, Bertram.	Park Ridge, Ill.	James, Dr. James A.	Evanston, Ill.
Hockenyoos, G. L.	Springfield, Ill.	Jansen, Nels.	Chicago, Ill.
Hodgson, Elsie G.	Ottawa, Ill.	Jenison, Ernestine.	Paris, Ill.
Hoffman, Mrs. Margaret.	Bloomington, Ill.	Jenks, Bernard H.	Chicago, Ill.
Hoffmann, George C.	Springfield, Ill.	Jerrard, L. P.	Winnetka, Ill.
Hokanson, N. M.	Evanston, Ill.	Jewell, C. B.	Kankakee, Ill.
Holbert, J. R.	Normal, Ill.	Johnson, Alfred E.	Carrollton, Ill.
Holbrook, Mrs. J. Howard.	Springfield, Ill.	Johnson, Arthur E.	Rockford, Ill.
Holbrook, Royal H.	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	Johnson, Mrs. B. M.	Harvey, Ill.
Holden, Hon. Walter S.	Chicago, Ill.	Johnson, Mrs. Celia.	Belleville, Ill.
Holinger, Mrs. J.	Chicago, Ill.	Johnson, Charles A.	Jacksonville, Ill.
Holland, Mr. & Mrs. Harry.	Winnetka, Ill.	Johnson, Charles A.	Palatine, Ill.
Hollmes, Mabel.	Bloomington, Ill.	Johnson, Craig.	Evanston, Ill.
Honens, Mrs. Fred W.	Sterling, Ill.	Johnson, E. Gustav.	Chicago, Ill.
Hood, Dr. Joseph Turner.	Geneseo, Ill.	Johnson, Henry W.	Mt. Olive, Ill.
Hoop, O. W.	Laguna Beach, Calif.	Johnson, Lillian A.	Canton, Ill.
Hoover, Ray P.	Evanston, Ill.	Johnson, Russell E. Q.	Evanston, Ill.
Hopkins, Constant C.	Chicago, Ill.	Johnson, Seth.	Chicago, Ill.
Horine, Paul G.	Springfield, Mo.	Johnson, Dr. T. Arthur.	Rockford, Ill.
Horner, Dr. Harlan Hoyt.	Wilmette, Ill.	Johnson, Vilas.	Wilmette, Ill.
Horner, Mrs. Robert C.	Petersburg, Ill.	Johnston, William S.	Chicago, Ill.
Horton, Philip Z.	Peoria, Ill.	Jones, Charles A.	Columbus, Ohio
Houser, M. L.	Peoria, Ill.	Jones, Mrs. Charles W.	Highland Park, Ill.
Howard, Frank B.	Detroit, Mich.	Jones, Dr. Edgar DeWitt.	Pleasant Ridge, Mich.
Howe, Mrs. Clayton.	Mansfield, Ill.		
Howe, Josephine.	Mansfield, Ill.	Jones, Edward M.	Salem, Ill.
Howes, Wright.	Chicago, Ill.	Jones, George R.	Chicago, Ill.
Howie, Mrs. James E.	Oak Park, Ill.	Jones, Mrs. M. G. M.	Jacksonville, Ill.
Hubbard, Dr. F. L.	Virginia, Ill.	Jones, O. W.	Murphysboro, Ill.
Hubbell, Dan D.	Columbus, Ohio	Jones, Robert V.	Evanston, Ill.
Hubbs, Mrs. Barbara Burr.	Chicago, Ill.	Jones, Winthrop S.	Tewksbury, Mass.
Hudson, Mrs. Cora M.	Bethany, Ill.	Josephson, Victoria.	Chicago Heights, Ill.
Hudson, Dr. H. Gary.	Jacksonville, Ill.	Joy, W. A.	Greenville, Ill.
Hughes, Mrs. Edna.	Normal, Ill.	Joyce, Joseph.	Kenilworth, Ill.
Humphrey, Mrs. Elizabeth.	Springfield, Ill.	Jung, Mrs. Adam.	Belleville, Ill.
Humphrey, Mary E.	Springfield, Ill.		
Hunt, Arthur C.	Wood River, Ill.	Kaericher, Emmett C., Jr.	Charleston, Ill.
Hunt, Mrs. Eugenia Jones.	Winnetka, Ill.	Kagy, Leigh M.	E. St. Louis, Ill.
Hunter, Clyde H.	Quincy, Ill.	Kahlert, Harriet C.	Carlyle, Ill.
Hunter, William L.	Oak Park, Ill.	Kamm, Samuel Richey Kamm.	Wheaton, Ill.
Hurley, Stephen E.	Chicago, Ill.	Kane, Elias Kent.	Pickneyville, Ill.
Hurst, W. C.	Springfield, Ill.	Karl, Mrs. Henry H.	San Antonio, Texas
Hussey, Charles H.	Chicago, Ill.	Karraker, James W.	Winnetka, Ill.
Huttner, Robert L.	Chicago, Ill.	Karraker, O. M.	Dongola, Ill.
Hynds, William I.	Morris, Ill.	Kearney, Ruth Ducey.	Bluffs, Ill.
Hynson, Mrs. Charles Bickham.	Chicago, Ill.	Keene, George R.	Chicago, Ill.
	New Orleans, La.	Keeney, Albert F.	Chicago, Ill.

Zeigwin, Mrs. J. R.	Bushnell, Ill.	Lee, Benton M.	Phoenix, Ariz.
Zellar, Dr. Herbert A.	Chicago, Ill.	Lee, Raymond E.	Tamaroa, Ill.
Zelly, Rev. William M.	LaRosa, Ill.	Leffler, Earl E.	Naperville, Ill.
Zelsch, Gerald T.	Peoria, Ill.	LeForgee, Charles C.	Decatur, Ill.
Zemmerer, Donald L.	Champaign, Ill.	Leib, R. W.	Springfield, Ill.
Zempff, Lawrence A.	Evanston, Ill.	Leich, Dr. Charles F.	Evansville, Ind.
Zendall, Edgar L.	Bluffs, Ill.	Leister, Volney B.	Evanston, Ill.
Zennish, Fred H.	Peoria, Ill.	Lentz, E. G.	Carbondale, Ill.
Zehane, Robert E.	Chicago, Ill.	Leonhard, Emma Mae	Jacksonville, Ill.
Zershner, Oscar A.	Washington, D. C.	Lesch, Anita.	Chicago, Ill.
Zerzic, Anton, Jr.	Chicago, Ill.	Levering, Benjamin	Chicago, Ill.
Zespohl, Julius	Quincy, Ill.	Lewis, Byron R.	Bridgeport, Ill.
Zestnbaum, Meyer	Chicago, Ill.	Lewis, J. D.	Pullman, Wash.
Zilby, Glenn M.	Virginia, Ill.	Lewis, Rev. J. Lee	Omaha, Neb.
Zilner, F. R.	Chicago, Ill.	Lewis, Mrs. John S.	Carbondale, Ill.
Zimball, Dr. Elsa.	Jacksonville, Ill.	Lewis, Lloyd	Libertyville, Ill.
Zirschner, Roger Q.	Murphysboro, Ill.	Lewis, Paul O.	Chicago, Ill.
Zing, Willard L.	Chicago, Ill.	Liggett, Mrs. John P.	Petersburg, Ill.
Zinison, J. P.	Mt. Vernon, Ill.	Lindley, Fleetwood H.	Springfield, Ill.
Zinney, Dr. William Byron.	Oak Park, Ill.	Lindley, Judge Walter C.	Danville, Ill.
Zircher, Theo. E.	Belleville, Ill.	Lindsay, Nettie S.	Decatur, Ill.
Zitchell, D. C.	Bloomington, Ill.	Lindstrom, David E.	Urbana, Ill.
Zlett, Ada M.	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	Lindstrom, Ralph G.	Los Angeles, Calif.
Znapp, Mrs. C. E.	Springfield, Ill.	Link, Paxson	Paris, Ill.
Znight, Robert	Chicago, Ill.	Locke, Richard F.	Glen Ellyn, Ill.
Zoenig, Francis J.	Chicago, Ill.	Lockett, Anne	Chicago, Ill.
Zohlsaat, Mrs. E. W.	St. Paul, Minn.	Lockhart, Orville	Bloomington, Ill.
Zohlsaat, Mrs. P. B.	Evanston, Ill.	Lohr, Major Lenox R.	Chicago, Ill.
Zoogle, Mrs. Will	Bloomington, Ill.	Long, Albert S.	Chicago, Ill.
Zopicki, I. T.	Chicago, Ill.	Long, John P.	Chicago, Ill.
Zramer, R. J.	East St. Louis, Ill.	Loos, A. J.	New Athens, Ill.
Zrampikowsky, Otto J.	Berwyn, Ill.	Lord, Dr. Arthur E.	Plano, Ill.
Zraske, Carl R.	Marseilles, Ill.	Lougeay, Dr. S. M.	Belleville, Ill.
Zreider, Emma Jane	Springfield, Ill.	Loutsch, Harry	Morton Grove, Ill.
Zroch, Adolph	Chicago, Ill.	Lovegren, Paul K.	San Francisco, Calif.
Zuehn, Mrs. A. L.	Oak Park, Ill.	Lovett, H. O.	Dixon, Ill.
Zugler, Arnold Richard	Springfield, Ill.	Loy, Clark M.	Effingham, Ill.
Zuhn, Isaac	Champaign, Ill.	Ludens, Lawrence A.	Morrison, Ill.
Zunhardt, Philip Bradish.	Morristown, N. J.	Ludwig, A. F.	Edwardsville, Ill.
Zurth, Warren	Bloomington, Ill.	Lueschen, John	Bloomington, Ill.
Zusche, Glen D.	Madison, Wis.	Luhrs, Henry E.	Shippensburg, Pa.
Zyle, Otto R.	Decatur, Ill.	Luthy, Godfrey G.	Oak Hill, Ill.
		Lybyer, Albert Howe	Urbana, Ill.
		Lyon, Mrs. Jeneva A.	Chicago, Ill.
		Lyon, Mrs. Leverett S.	Chicago, Ill.
Zacher, Walter Scott.	LaGrange, Ill.	McArthur, Dr. Selim.	Chicago, Ill.
Zadenson, Alex.	Chicago, Ill.	McBride, Mrs. W. P.	Lake Forest, Ill.
Zagerstrom, Carl A.	Rockford, Ill.	McClelland, Clarence P.	Jacksonville, Ill.
Zampert, Mrs. Clara.	Belvidere, Ill.	McClelland, Stewart W.	Harrogate, Tenn.
Zanden, Mrs. Ernest W.	Peoria, Ill.	McClintock, Mrs. L. E.	Marissa, Ill.
Zange, Louise	Bloomington, Ill.	McConathy, Mrs. A. R.	White Hall, Ill.
Zangworthy, Mrs. Mary L.	Winnetka, Ill.	McCorison, Rev. J. L.	Boston, Mass.
Zanier, Otha Wendell	Mt. Sterling, Ill.	McCormick, Sister M. Medulpha.	Belleville, Ill.
Zansden, Emma L.	Cairo, Ill.	McCulloch, Edward D.	Peoria, Ill.
Zarson, J. R.	Decatur, Ill.	McDermott, Dr. Walsh	New York, N. Y.
Zavender, William	Rock Island, Ill.	McDonald, Denver	Mt. Vernon, Ill.
Zaw, M. A.	Northbrook, Ill.	McDonald, Duncan	Springfield, Ill.
Zawrence, Mrs. Clifford	Hudson, Ill.	McDonough, Mrs. H. O.	Albion, Ill.
Zawrence, W. S.	Fairfield, Ill.	McGoorty, Hon. John P.	Chicago, Ill.
Zay, Chester F.	Carbondale, Ill.		
Zayman, T. J.	Benton, Ill.		
Zeaman, Bertha R.	Mt. Carroll, Ill.		
ZeBlanc, Bertrand	Santa Barbara, Calif.		

- Murphy, Loren E. Springfield, Ill.
 Murphy, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas J., Jr. Chicago, Ill.
 Muxfeld, Mrs. Edith Bloomington, Ill.
 Myers, Mrs. Jacob W. Harrisburg, Ill.
 Myers, Milton A. Chicago, Ill.
 Myers, Selden L. Tremont, Ill.
 Naffziger, Byron E. Eureka, Ill.
 Nedved, George M. Chicago, Ill.
 Nedwick, Jerrold Chicago, Ill.
 Nef, John U. Chicago, Ill.
 Neill, Mrs. H. Irwin Kankakee, Ill.
 Neill, Mrs. Julian Belleville, Ill.
 Nelch, George Ottawa, Ill.
 Nell, A. C. Chicago, Ill.
 Nell, Rev. George Teutopolis, Ill.
 Nelson, C. M. Chicago, Ill.
 Nelson, Carl L. Macomb, Ill.
 Nelson, Clarence E. Galva, Ill.
 Nelson, Edward E. Morton Grove, Ill.
 Nelson, G. Edward Springfield, Ill.
 Nelson, George H. Galesburg, Ill.
 Nelson, Herman G. Rockford, Ill.
 Newcomb, Rexford Urbana, Ill.
 Newcombe, Alfred W. Galesburg, Ill.
 Newcomer, F. X. Dixon, Ill.
 Newman, Ralph G. Chicago, Ill.
 Nichol, Mrs. Thomas Monmouth, Ill.
 Nickell, Vernon L. Springfield, Ill.
 Nickols, D. F. Lincoln, Ill.
 Nixon, Harmon A. Chicago, Ill.
 Nobles, Arthur Calumet, Mich.
 Noonan, Paul R. Springfield, Ill.
 Norman, Margaret A. Chicago Heights, Ill.
 Norman, Nelson F. Champaign, Ill.
 Normyle, John J. Moline, Ill.
 Norris, Dr. F. A. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Northcott, H. Clifford Champaign, Ill.
 Norton, Margaret C. Springfield, Ill.
 Nott, Mrs. Harry Chicago, Ill.
 Novak, Dr. Frank J., Jr. Riverside, Ill.
 Nowlan, John H. Greenville, Ill.
 Nussbaum, Ben. Fairbury, Ill.
 Nuveen, John Chicago, Ill.
 Nystrom, Dr. Daniel Rock Island, Ill.
 Oakes, Royal Bluffs, Ill.
 Oakleaf, J. L. Moline, Ill.
 Oates, James F. Evanston, Ill.
 Oberfelder, Herbert M. Chicago, Ill.
 Ochs, Robert D. Bloomington, Ill.
 Oden, Dr. Rudolph J. E. Chicago, Ill.
 O'Donnell, Thomas E. Urbana, Ill.
 Ogborn, Argus E. Richmond, Ind.
 Ogle, Nellie G. Freeburg, Ill.
 Oien, John G. Chicago, Ill.
 O'Kieffe, DeWitt Kenilworth, Ill.
 Olin, Spencer T. Alton, Ill.
 Oliver, Mrs. LouBelle Moore Princeton, Ill.
 Olman, Maxine Rockford, Ill.
 Olmstead, L. B. Somonauk, Ill.
 Olsen, Dr. Charles W. Chicago, Ill.
 Olson, Leslie W. Rockford, Ill.
 Olson, Lester W. Milwaukee, Wis.
 O'Neill, Mrs. Gertrude Brooks Boulder, Colo.
 Osterberg, Carl C. Chicago, Ill.
 Osterhart, Harry John Chicago, Ill.
 Ott, Mrs. William H., Jr. Des Plaines, Ill.
 Outten, Ethel Ann Decatur, Ill.
 Owen, C. N. Glencoe, Ill.
 Owens, Harry J. Flossmoor, Ill.
 Pace, Mrs. O. B., Sr. Farmer City, Ill.
 Packard, R. D. Cleveland Heights, Ohio
 Paddock, Paul Darrow Hicksville, N. Y.
 Page, Elwin L. Concord, N. H.
 Paker, A. Dan Chicago, Ill.
 Palmer, Mrs. Claude I. Chicago, Ill.
 Palmer, Cyrus E. Urbana, Ill.
 Palmer, Mrs. George Thomas Springfield, Ill.
 Palmer, Gen. John McAuley Washington, D. C.
 Papin, Edward V. Rye Beach, N. H.
 Parks, Oliver L. E. St. Louis, Ill.
 Parr, O. L. Springfield, Ill.
 Patch, A. Huntington Evanston, Ill.
 Patten, Alfred E. Chicago, Ill.
 Patterson, Mrs. Wallace Evanston, Ill.
 Paulus, Sylvester E. Chicago, Ill.
 Paxton, Agnes Jacksonville, Ill.
 Pearson, Charles M. Champaign, Ill.
 Pearson, Milo L., Jr. Pleasant Hill, Ill.
 Pearsons, Harry Putnam Evanston, Ill.
 Pease, Theodore Calvin Urbana, Ill.
 Peck, J. R. Galesburg, Ill.
 Pedersen, Axel P. Chicago, Ill.
 Peelle, Mrs. Mary T. Glen Ellyn, Ill.
 Pemberton, Carlisle Springfield, Ill.
 Perkins, Howard C. Peoria, Ill.
 Perrin, L. N. Nick Belleville, Ill.
 Perrow, Arthur Chicago, Ill.
 Petersen, Dr. William F. Chicago, Ill.
 Petersen, Mrs. William F. Chicago, Ill.
 Peterson, Carl Harold Chicago, Ill.
 Peterson Elof R. Evanston, Ill.
 Petit, Dr. Gilman Wilbur Chicago, Ill.
 Petrovich, Charles Canton, Ill.
 Pfeifferberger, George D. Alton, Ill.
 Pfeifferberger, Dr. Mather Alton, Ill.
 Phalen, Col. James M. Washington, D. C.
 Phelps, A. C. Hinsdale, Ill.
 Phelps, William Neal Carbondale, Ill.
 Phemister, Dr. D. B. Chicago, Ill.
 Philip, Dr. William B. Peoria, Ill.
 Phillips, Hazel Oaklawn, Ill.
 Pickart, Walter Gary, Ind.
 Pickering, Mrs. J. L., Jr. Pleasant Ridge, Mich.
 Pierce, Bessie L. Chicago, Ill.

- Piersel, W. G. Springfield, Ill.
 Pierson, Mrs. David B. Aurora, Ill.
 Pierson, David Robert Chicago, Ill.
 Pitkin, William A. Carbondale, Ill.
 Pleck, Joseph H. Glencoe, Ill.
 Pledger, Mrs. China H. Bloomington, Ill.
 Plews, Dr. T. V. Petersburg, Ill.
 Pond, Mrs. Henry E. Petersburg, Ill.
 Poppenhusen, C. H. Evanston, Ill.
 Povenmire, H. M. Ada, Ohio
 Powell, Mrs. John G. Carmi, Ill.
 Preston, Lee K. Chicago, Ill.
 Price, Harry B. Morrison, Ill.
 Prince, Mrs. Arthur E. Springfield, Ill.
 Pritchett, Mr. & Mrs. C. J. Dana, Ill.
 Prosser, Mr. & Mrs. Robert S.
 Highland Park, Ill.
 Pullen, P. P. Chicago, Ill.
 Pyle, Claude W. Sidell, Ill.

 Quick, Will D. Ashton, Ill.
 Quindry, Sylvester E. Springfield, Ill.
 Quinlan, Frederick F. Lake Forest, Ill.

 Radley, J. Edward Peoria, Ill.
 Rammelkamp, Julian S. Cambridge, Mass.
 Ramsdell, Mrs. Bentley F. Geneva, Ill.
 Randall, J. G. Urbana, Ill.
 Rauhoff, Millard Blue Island, Ill.
 Ray, Jerome V. Chicago, Ill.
 Ray, Mrs. Rowan Peoria, Ill.
 Rearick, G. F. Danville, Ill.
 Reddick, W. C. Springfield, Ill.
 Reece, R. Howell San Luis Obispo, Calif.
 Reed, Hon. C. W. Washington, D. C.
 Reef, Edward Carbondale, Ill.
 Reeser, Mrs. Carl Weldon, Ill.
 Reich, Dr. Harry New York, N. Y.
 Reich, Dr. Joseph P. Chicago, Ill.
 Reichmann, A. F. Chicago, Ill.
 Reilly, Mrs. Frank G. Cantrall, Ill.
 Reinertsen, Dr. Paul D. Canton, Ill.
 Reinheimer, Pearl M. E. St. Louis, Ill.
 Remer, Theodore G. Chicago, Ill.
 Renshaw, Mrs. A. B. Chambersburg, Ill.
 Rentner, Otto C. Chicago, Ill.
 Rew, Irwin Evanston, Ill.
 Reynolds, Mrs. F. W. E. St. Louis, Ill.
 Rich, Stanley Winnetka, Ill.
 Richards, Mrs. Arthur Belleville, Ill.
 Richardson, Mrs. Mary S. Grayville, Ill.
 Richmond, Mabel E. Decatur, Ill.
 Rickard, L. F. Nelson, Neb.
 Rickcords, Francis S. Chicago, Ill.
 Ricketts, Mrs. Ruth Lexington, Ill.
 Riddle, Donald W. Cambridge, Mass.
 Rieck, C. E. Chicago, Ill.
 Riese, Mrs. Maude Bloomington, Ill.
 Riess, Judge Alfred D. Red Bud, Ill.
 Rife, Laura Milford Cairo, Ill.
 Riley, Edward, Jr. Eureka, Ill.

 Risdon, Frederick Ray Los Angeles, Calif.
 Robbe, Charles W. Orangeville, Ill.
 Robbins, Fred A. Chicago, Ill.
 Roberts, Dr. D. M. Alton, Ill.
 Roberts, John M. Kenilworth, Ill.
 Roberts, William P. Springfield, Ill.
 Robertson, W. S. Urbana, Ill.
 Robinson, Carl E. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Robinson, Margaret H. Springfield, Ill.
 Roden, C. B. Chicago, Ill.
 Roemer, Erwin W. River Forest, Ill.
 Roeth, Judge Burton A. Canton, Ill.
 Rogers, Eugene W. Chicago, Ill.
 Rolens, Fred M. South Pasadena, Calif.
 Román, Ulysses Grant Chicago, Ill.
 Romeo, Mrs. Maud Carter Cartersville, Ill.
 Rooney, Francis James Chicago, Ill.
 Ropiequet, W. C. St. Louis, Mo.
 Rosborough, C. R. Moline, Ill.
 Rose, Dr. Milton E. Decatur, Ill.
 Rossi, Frank Chicago, Ill.
 Roth, Grant O. W. Evanston, Ill.
 Rothbone, Ora L. Wayne, Mich.
 Rudin, John Chicago, Ill.
 Rugen, Myrtle L. North Brook, Ill.
 Rule, W. G. St. Louis, Mo.
 Runyan, O. H. Chicago, Ill.
 Rusk, H. P. Urbana, Ill.
 Russell, Don Elmhurst, Ill.
 Russell, Jane Chicago, Ill.
 Russell, John L. Effingham, Ill.
 Ruyle, Dr. J. B. Champaign, Ill.
 Ryan, Rev. John H. Pontiac, Ill.
 Ryden, Einar R. Evanston, Ill.
 Ryerson, Mrs. Edward L. Chicago, Ill.
 Ryerson, Joseph T. Chicago, Ill.

 Sager, G. F. Belvidere, Ill.
 Sager, May Belvidere, Ill.
 Salmon, F. G. Bloomington, Ill.
 Salomon, William E. Silver Spring, Md.
 Saltonstall, H. C. Coral Gables, Fla.
 Sampson, Charles L. Chicago, Ill.
 Samuelli, Dudley Easton, Ill.
 Sanders, Walter R. Litchfield, Ill.
 Sandeson, Ruth Danville, Ill.
 Sankey, John Springfield, Ill.
 Sapp, Mrs. Frederick A. Ottawa, Ill.
 Sargent, Ralph Chicago, Ill.
 Sargent, Sam Charleston, Ill.
 Sausaman, W. A. Springfield, Ill.
 Savage, Susan M. Rockford, Ill.
 Sawyer, Frank E. Decatur, Ill.
 Scarborough, Henry F. Payson, Ill.
 Schaad, Robert E. Virginia, Ill.
 Schaefer, Carl W. Cleveland, Ohio
 Schenck, Miss Marion Chicago, Ill.
 Scherer, Andrew C. Evanston, Ill.
 Scheying, A. L. Chicago, Ill.
 Schlafly, L. A. Alton, Ill.
 Schlosser, Mrs. Bertha Bloomington, Ill.

chmidt, Mrs. E. W.	Edwardsville, Ill.	Smith, Clyde	Dixon, Ill.
chmidt, Hubert	Middlebush, N. J.	Smith, Clyde L.	Carbondale, Ill.
chmidt, Richard E.	Chicago, Ill.	Smith, Clyde L.	Robinson, Ill.
chmidt, William P.	Rockford, Ill.	Smith, Ethel	Indianola, Ill.
chneible, Mrs. Frances Paullin		Smith, George Winston	Urbana, Ill.
	Evanston, Ill.	Smith, Glenn F.	Chicago, Ill.
chnering, Otto	Cary, Ill.	Smith, Mrs. Grace Partridge	Carbondale, Ill.
chort, J. F. C.	Quincy, Ill.	Smith, Helen I.	Moline, Ill.
chrader, F. L.	Springfield, Ill.	Smith, Henry P. S.	Edwardsville, Ill.
chrader, Henry C. G.	Belleville, Ill.	Smith, Hermon Dunlap	Lake Forest, Ill.
chriver, Lester O.	Peoria, Ill.	Smith, Joe Patterson	Jacksonville, Ill.
chroeder, George W.	Memphis, Tenn.	Smith, John Solomon	Kewanee, Ill.
chultz, Allen H.	Chicago, Ill.	Smith, Louis A.	Edwardsville, Ill.
chumm, Lorenz G.	LaPorte, Ind.	Smith, Sidney A.	Chicago, Ill.
chupp, Philip C.	Chicago, Ill.	Smith, Sidney B.	Springfield, Ill.
chwiebert, Lloyd A.	Moline, Ill.	Smith, William W.	Springfield, Ill.
cofield, Judge Charles J.	Carthage, Ill.	Snigg, John P.	Springfield, Ill.
cort, Franklin W.	Urbana, Ill.	Snively, John R.	Rockford, Ill.
cott, Mrs. L. E.	Mt. Zion, Ill.	Snow, Henry	Galesburg, Ill.
cort, Modesta	Arcola, Ill.	Snyder, Isabel	Virginia, Ill.
cort, Robert L.	Evanston, Ill.	Solberg, Marshall	Chicago, Ill.
cabury, Charles Ward	Oak Park, Ill.	Sommerfeld, Herman	LaSalle, Ill.
earle, J. Clinton	Rock Island, Ill.	Sorling, Carl A.	Springfield, Ill.
earls, Mrs. Virginia W.	Chicago, Ill.	Sparks, Charles Avery	Danville, Ill.
eiler, Mrs. S. S.	Mt. Carmel, Ill.	Sparr, Jessie Stewart	Staunton, Ill.
ervies, Byron B.	Chicago, Ill.	Spencer, William M.	Chicago, Ill.
evens, Roger L.	Chicago, Ill.	Spiller, A. L.	Carbondale, Ill.
ewell, Harry A.	Chicago, Ill.	Spooner, Harry L.	Peoria, Ill.
eymour, Glenn H.	Charleston, Ill.	Springer, Vivian M.	Carbondale, Ill.
haw, Joseph Lawrence	Geneseo, Ill.	Springer, William	Detroit, Mich.
haw, Warren C.	Carlinville, Ill.	Staab, Herman W.	Springfield, Ill.
hawwer, H. L.	Morrison, Ill.	Staaack, Henry F.	Rock Island, Ill.
heehan, William P.	Springfield, Ill.	Stacy, Dr. George H.	Peoria, Ill.
heets, Mrs. Raymond W.	Rockford, Ill.	Stancik, Michael, Jr.	Chicago, Ill.
heldon, A. L.	Bloomington, Ill.	Standard, Ora	Adair, Ill.
helper, Will H.	Bloomington, Ill.	Stanley, Anna Mae	Oklahoma City, Okla.
hestak, Alvina M.	Harrisburg, Ill.	Starr, John W., Jr.	Millersburg, Pa.
hively, Roma L.	Elmwood, Ill.	Starr, Thomas I.	Detroit, Mich.
hontz, Rev. Vernon L.	Springfield, Ill.	Steele, Mrs. Frederick	Peoria, Ill.
hotwell, Mrs. Laura	Normal, Ill.	Stephens, Gertrude	Bloomington, Ill.
hriner, Emma E.	Peoria, Ill.	Stephens, Robert A., Jr.	Springfield, Ill.
hultz, George D.	Virginia, Ill.	Sterbenz, Mrs. B. L.	St. Louis, Mo.
hutes, Dr. Milton H.	Oakland, Calif.	Stericker, Mrs. George F.	Springfield, Ill.
iebel, A. F. W.	Chicago, Ill.	Stern, Alfred Whital	Chicago, Ill.
ievers, Mrs. Glenn L.	Naples, Ill.	Stevens, Jewell F.	Chicago, Ill.
immonds, Claude E.	Newton Centre, Mass.	Stevenson, Adlai E.	Libertyville, Ill.
imon, John	Highland Park, Ill.	Stevenson, Roscoe	Carbondale, Ill.
impkins, Mrs. Ellen M.	Plano, Ill.	Stewart, Charles L.	Urbana, Ill.
impkins, J. R.	Aurora, Ill.	Stewart, Lucy S.	Evanston, Ill.
impson, Mrs. John E.	Oak Park, Ill.	Stitely, Mrs. Nana E.	Peoria, Ill.
inkler, Helen M.	Chicago, Ill.	Stockton, Noble	Springfield, Ill.
innock, William H.	Quincy, Ill.	Stoddard, Melita E.	Minonk, Ill.
ioussat, St. George L.	Chevy Chase, Md.	Stonberg, Richard M.	Cambridge, Ill.
kaggs, Mrs. Lucretia	Lincoln, Ill.	Stone, Mrs. Charles N.	Moline, Ill.
kogh, Harriet M.	Springfield, Ill.	Stone, Claude U.	Peoria, Ill.
later, Dr. R. C.	LaSalle, Ill.	Stone, Edward C.	Boston, Mass.
lattery, Hon. James M.	Chicago, Ill.	Strookey, Mrs. Sherman	Belleville, Ill.
lifer, Chester W.	Cincinnati, Ohio	Storer, Harold W.	Chicago, Ill.
loan, Percy H.	Chicago, Ill.	Stotler, Raymond W.	Carbondale, Ill.
metters, Samuel T.	Chicago, Ill.	Strevey, Tracy E.	Evanston, Ill.
mith, Clark B.	Morris, Ill.	Stromberg, Charles J.	Chicago, Ill.

- Strum, Bernice.....Rock Island, Ill.
 Stubblefield, E. M.....Menard, Ill.
 Study, Guy.....St. Louis, Mo.
 Stullken, George C.....Edwardsville, Ill.
 Sullivan, Rev. M. L.....Williamsville, Ill.
 Sullivan, Frank R.....Springfield, Ill.
 Sulzer, Angeline M.....Chicago, Ill.
 Summers, Alexander.....Mattoon, Ill.
 Swain, Mrs. Paul.....Benton, Ill.
 Swanson, Evadene Burris.....Chicago, Ill.
 Sweet, Prof. William W.....Chicago, Ill.
 Swift, Harold H.....Chicago, Ill.
 Symonds, Merrill.....Chicago, Ill.
- Taber, Mr. & Mrs. W. B., Jr....Kansas, Ill.
 Tate, Mrs. Louis N.....Galesburg, Ill.
 Tatman, J. L.....Steubenville, Ohio
 Taylor, Charles R.....New Berlin, Ill.
 Taylor, Mrs. Etta.....Gibson City, Ill.
 Taylor, Marjorie.....Virginia, Ill.
 Taylor, Roy E.....Normal, Ill.
 Taylor, Samuel G., Jr.....Hammond, Ind.
 Taylor, Sam. M.....Taylorville, Ill.
 Taylor, T. B.....Carbondale, Ill.
 Temple, Joe, Jr.....Chicago, Ill.
 Terry, Gifford C.....Pollo, Ill.
 Thatcher, Mr. & Mrs. Herbert Tryon, N. C.
 Thayer, Maude.....Springfield, Ill.
 Thiesse, Ray F.....Chicago, Ill.
 Thomas, Benjamin P.....Springfield, Ill.
 Thompson, David E.....Rockford, Ill.
 Thompson, Judge Floyd E.....Chicago, Ill.
 Thompson, Scerial.....Harrisburg, Ill.
 Thompson, Thomas.....Oak Park, Ill.
 Thornton, George A.....Ottawa, Ill.
 Thruston, R. C. Ballard.....Louisville, Ky.
 Thurow, Walter W.....Plano, Ill.
 Thurston, Robert C.....Yakima, Wash.
 Tillotson, Mrs. Harry T.....Chicago, Ill.
 Tilton, Sam. R.....Danville, Ill.
 Tipword, Miles A.....Charlestown, Ill.
 Tisler, Bruce.....Marseilles, Ill.
 Tisler, C. C.....Ottawa, Ill.
 Tjaden, John C.....East Peoria, Ill.
 Todd, Roscoe J.....Elgin, Ill.
 Tomlinson, R. E.....New York, N. Y.
 Topel, Dr. P. A.....Oak Park, Ill.
 Torrens, Mrs. Frank S.....Sparta, Ill.
 Touchette, G. Elmer.....E. St. Louis, Ill.
 Tournie, Mrs. Arthur.....Belleville, Ill.
 Townley, Wayne C.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Townsend, William H.....Lexington, Ky.
 Tracy, W. W.....Springfield, Ill.
 Trail, Robert.....Mooseheart, Ill.
 Trampe, R. Gerald.....Golconda, Ill.
 Travous, R. Louise.....Edwardsville, Ill.
 Trefz, Julius F.....Bethesda, Md.
 Tregallis, Ida.....Astoria, Ill.
 Trigg, L. O.....Eldorado, Ill.
 Trimble, Charles.....Clifton, Ill.
 Trovillion, Madge.....Golconda, Ill.
- Trowbridge, Mrs. E. G.....Winnetka, Ill.
 Truitt, Harry F.....Vandalia, Ill.
 Tuggle, Larkin A.....Danville, Ill.
 Turner, Alva N.....Ina, Ill.
 Turner, Lynn W.....Monmouth, Ill.
 Turner, William Paddock.....Evanston, Ill.
 Twomey, Margie.....Bloomington, Ill.
- Ufford, Mrs. Grace Ayers.....San Diego, Calif.
 Uihlein, Edgar J.....Lake Bluff, Ill.
 Underwood, Maude.....Belleville, Ill.
 Underwood, Mr. & Mrs. Morgan P.....Chicago, Ill.
 Unger, John W.....Danville, Ill.
 Unseitig, Otto R.....Oak Park, Ill.
 Utter, Mrs. Ross A.....Chicago, Ill.
- Valentine, John.....Decatur, Ill.
 Van, Maurice.....West Englewood, N. J.
 Vance, Philip W.....Springfield, Ill.
 Van Leer, Mrs. Bird Colloday.....Normal, Ill.
 Van Meter, Craig.....Mattoon, Ill.
 Van Norman, C. E.....Galesburg, Ill.
 Van Peursem, George.....Peru, Ill.
 Vaught, L. O.....Jacksonville, Ill.
 Velde, James A.....Lake Bluff, Ill.
 Vernon, Dr. George H.....Springfield, Ill.
 Ver Nooy, Winifred.....Chicago, Ill.
 Vest, Eugene B.....Dixon, Ill.
 Villéré, S. L.....New Orleans, La.
 Vincent, H. G.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Voget, Lamberta M.....Wheaton, Ill.
 Vogt, William G.....Carrollton, Ill.
 Vorndran, Miss Amelia L.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Voss, John.....Peoria, Ill.
 Vrooman, Carl.....Bloomington, Ill.
- Waddell, Mrs. F. J.....Jacksonville, Ill.
 Wahlstrom, Carl.....Worcester, Mass.
 Wakefield, Sherman D.....New York, N. Y.
 Wakelee, William W.....Chicago, Ill.
 Wales, E. Max.....LaSalle, Ill.
 Walgreen, Mrs. Charles R.....Chicago, Ill.
 Walker, Jo V.....Herrin, Ill.
 Walker, Myron C.....Olivet, Ill.
 Walker, N. Tracy.....Lemont, Ill.
 Waller, Elbert.....Murphysboro, Ill.
 Wallis, William.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Ward, Arnold D.....Indianola, Ill.
 Ward, Philip H.....Sterling, Ill.
 Warner, Henry C.....Dixon, Ill.
 Warner, Robert L.....Dixon, Ill.
 Warren, F. B.....Chicago, Ill.
 Warren, Dr. Louis A.....Ft. Wayne, Ind.
 Warshell, A. Bertram.....Chicago, Ill.
 Washburn, Mr. & Mrs. H. P. Kewance, Ill.
 Wasson, Fred H.....Carrier Mills, Ill.
 Waters, Mrs. H. C.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Waters, Dr. William L.....Godfrey, Ill.
 Watkins, Frances S.....Danville, Ill.
 Watkins, Lyle.....Petersburg, Ill.

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att, Harold L.	Los Angeles, Calif.	Williams, Thomas	Bloomington, Ill.
atters, Hilda M.	Macomb, Ill.	Williamson, H. L.	Springfield, Ill.
atts, Amos H.	Glencoe, Ill.	Willoughby, Harold R.	Chicago, Ill.
atts, Mrs. Harry Temple	Vincennes, Ind.	Wilshin, Francis F.	Fredericksburg, Va.
ay, Dr. William	Charleston, S. C.	Wilson, Dr. Alfred Lee	Chicago, Ill.
eaever, Dr. George H.	Wilmette, Ill.	Wilson, Burt L.	Chicago, Ill.
ebb, Mrs. Nellie	Normal, Ill.	Wilson, Charles H.	Davenport, Iowa
ebster, Mrs. Sarah F.	Chicago, Ill.	Wilson, George H.	Quincy, Ill.
eecks, Wadsworth	Pekin, Ill.	Wilson, Henry E.	Urbana, Ill.
ehrle, Leroy A.	Belleville, Ill.	Wilson, Mrs. Jeddie	Bloomington, Ill.
eilepp, Carl N.	Decatur, Ill.	Wilson, Rufus Rockwell	Elmira, N. Y.
eise, George V.	Greenville, Ill.	Wilson, Samuel M.	Lexington, Ky.
ells, Mrs. Harry L.	Fontana, Wis.	Windes, Frank A.	Winnetka, Ill.
ells, H. L.	Evanston, Ill.	Wing, Harold W.	Evanston, Ill.
erner, Mildred C.	Park Ridge, Ill.	Winings, L. Paul	Havertown, Pa.
essen, Ernest J.	Mansfield, Ohio	Winkler, Clyde V.	Cicero, Ill.
est, Roy O.	Chicago, Ill.	Winkler, Wallace R.	Dahlgren, Ill.
estcott, Mrs. Eda K.	Maywood, Ill.	Winstein, Stewart R.	Rock Island, Ill.
estphal, Frank	Elizabeth, Ill.	Wolcott, Charles A.	Evanston, Ill.
etherbee, Mrs. Hugh P.	Springfield, Ill.	Wolf, Hazel C.	Peoria, Ill.
etherbee, S. A.	Springfield, Ill.	Wolff, Norman C., Jr.	St. Louis, Mo.
ham, Benjamin	Chicago, Ill.	Woltersdorf, Arthur	Chicago, Ill.
ham, Fred L.	Centralia, Ill.	Wood, George W.	Moline, Ill.
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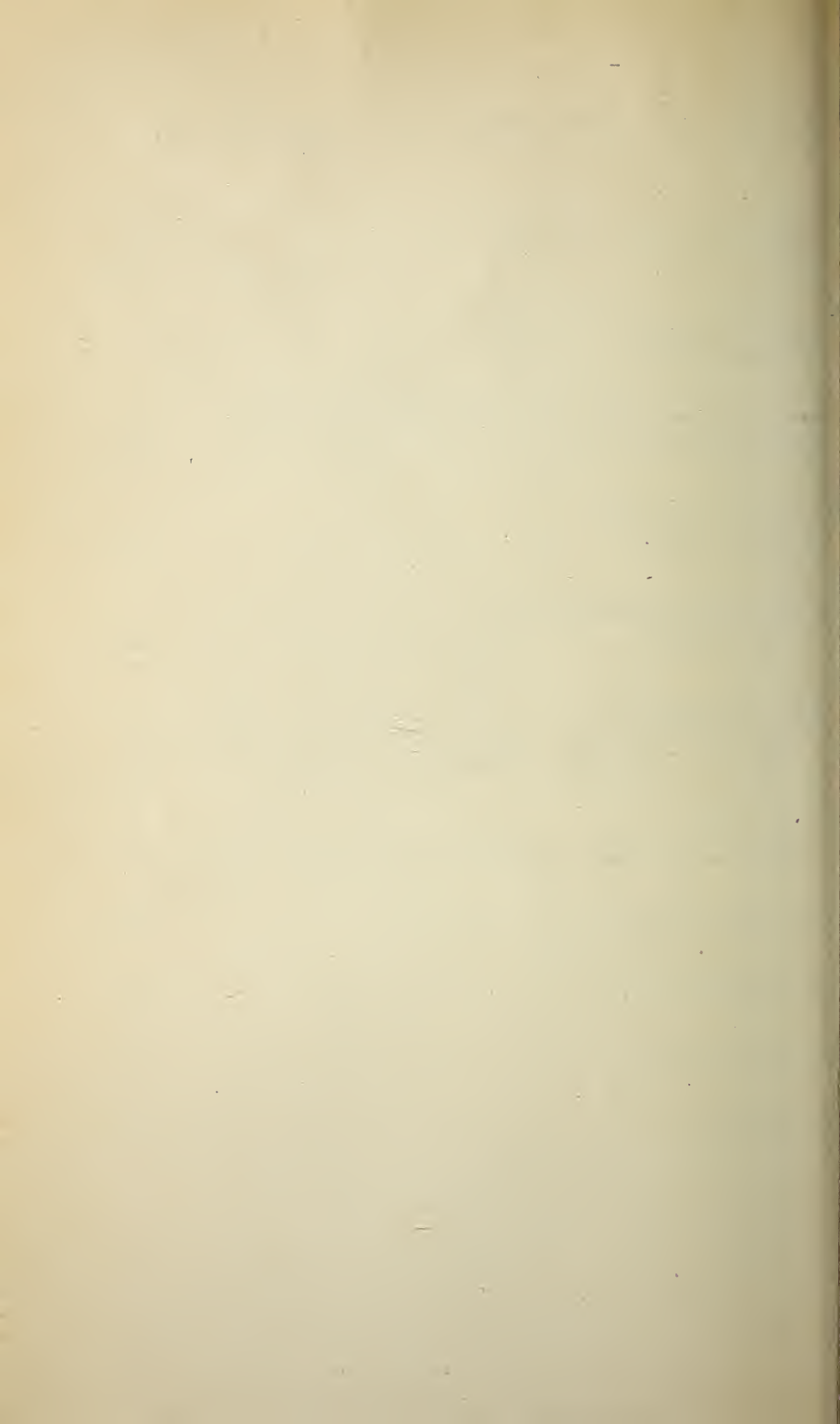
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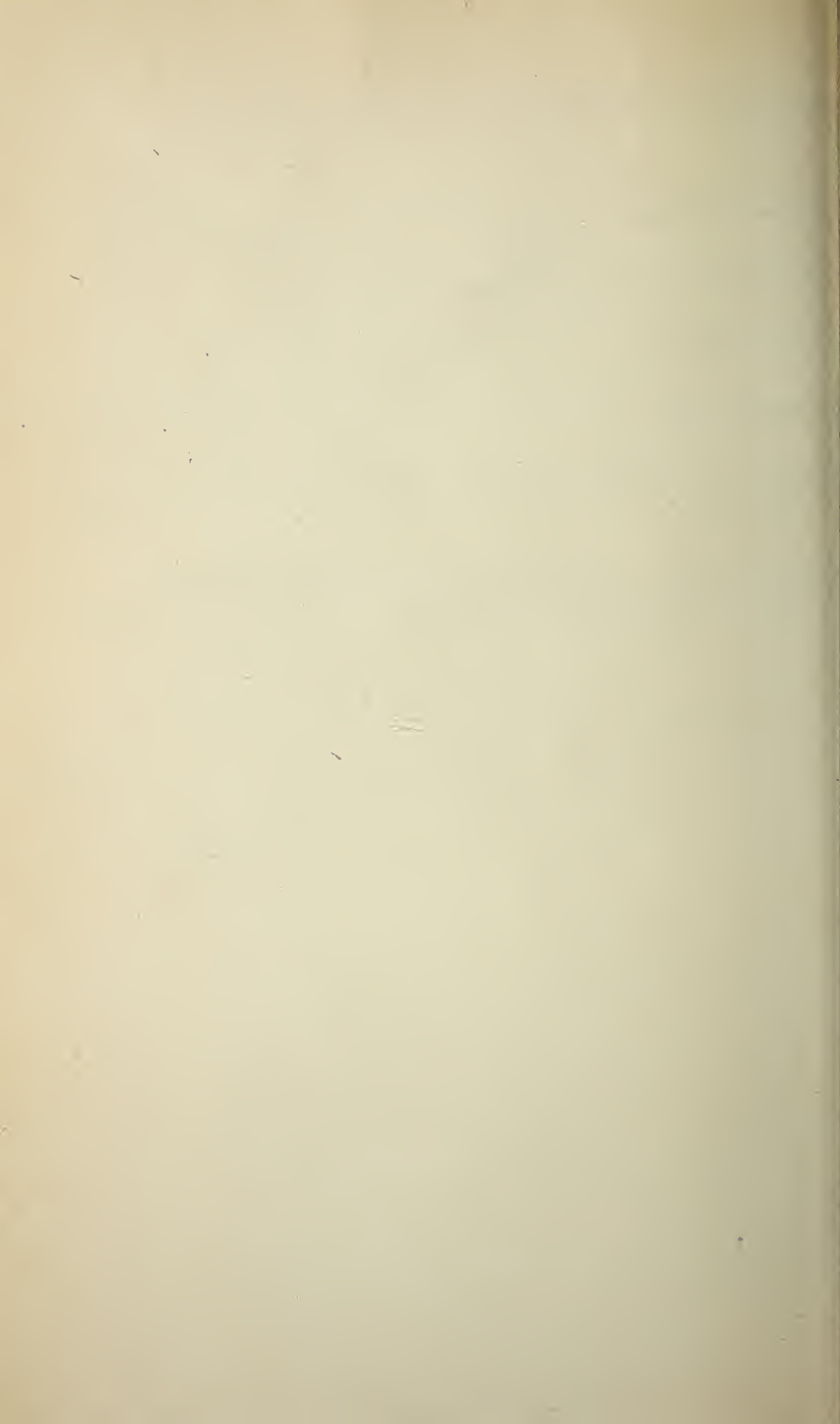
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JEDIAH F. ALEXANDER, CIVIL WAR EDITOR

BY HUBERT G. SCHMIDT

IN our preoccupation with the great and near-great of American history, we too often forget the local lieutenants who made possible their successes. The year 1861 was a time for decision, not only for our national leaders, but also for the common citizens of city, village, and farm; and without the loyal support of the latter the former would have been lost. That being the case, those relatively obscure and now forgotten persons who provided dynamic leadership in their home communities fulfilled an important function. Of none is this more true than of newspaper editors whose personal love for the Union transmuted the indifference and lukewarm support, even the hostility, of their readers into fiery zeal for the Union cause. Jediah Franklin Alexander of Bond County, Illinois, was such a man. The object of this article is to show the impact of this resolutely loyal individual upon his community.

Despite its many Southern ties, "little Bond" did its duty manfully during the Civil War. After the first gasp of horror, many of its young men rushed to the colors, and the record throughout, both as to enlistments and reenlistments, was consistently good. Several officers and men were cited for conspicuous heroism, and examples of cowardice and desertion were few. Bond County soldiers fought and died in most of the major and dozens of minor battles of the West, and Bond County companies shared in military campaigns from Island No. 10 to Sherman's March. Infantry from the county par-

ticipated in the grand review at Washington in 1865, and its cavalry campaigned against the Sioux in Minnesota, months after the civil conflict was over. One company marched 6931 miles in four years and participated in twenty-eight pitched battles. During the conflict the county completed its quota of 1148 men, in addition to local men who enlisted elsewhere.¹ This record shows that the spirit of at least part of the population was good, and implies that local leadership was capable and active. As editor of the only county newspaper, Jediah Alexander was an important contributor to the county's war effort.

Despite the record, there was more than a little dissatisfaction with the war from the beginning, and Southern sympathizers, Knights of the Golden Circle, draft dodgers, and deserting soldiers caused a certain amount of serious trouble before it was over. The people of the county were definitely divided in their sympathies, often on a neighborhood basis. Traditions say that the northern part was rabidly pro-South; that settlers in the west along Shoal Creek were rebel in sympathy but not very "nervy;" and that the villages of Smithboro and Fairview were centers of dissension.² In such areas, a "rebel" could speak openly, but in the generally patriotic central part of the county, including Greenville, or in the villages of Donnellson, Pocahontas, Mulberry Grove, and Dudleyville, he had better curb his tongue. In Mulberry Grove a young home guardsman nearly killed one troublemaker, and the Methodist church split on the issue of participation in the farcical "Vandalia Raid." In Dudleyville, a returned soldier who killed an opponent with a brick is said to have been supported by public opinion when he said, "Uncle Sam hired me to kill rebels."³

¹ *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois, 1861-1866* (Springfield, Ill., 1900), II: 225-30, 362-88; VI: 562-66; VII: 63-65, 552-55, 576-80, and *passim*. William H. Perrin, ed. *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1882), 61-65.

² Interview with John Nowlan, Greenville, Ill.

³ *Ibid.*

In the eastern part of the county, the leading families along Hurricane Creek and its tributaries were Southern in blood and sympathy. The writer's maternal great-grandfather, when in danger of arrest for harboring deserters, threatened to burn the village of Greenville. His ten-year-old son was not so pronounced in his proslavery sentiments. He still remembers being called a "little black Abolitionist," for questioning whether slave families should be broken up at the auction block.⁴ "Old Secesh Songs" were sung openly at neighborhood gatherings of such groups. The first verse of one of them ran as follows:

Hurrah for our great President!
The world ne'er saw a bigger;
In stature he's six feet three,
And equal to a nigger.

Another started out with the taunt,

Now Old Abe Link, what do you think
About the Southern cattle?
They score you so, where'er you go,
And flax you in every battle.

Still a third contained the following doggerel:

Now leaguers all, for Shorty's ball
And Abie Doodle Dandy;
And each shall have a nigger wife,
As sweet as sugar candy.⁵

The antagonisms stirred up by the war were so serious that after seventeen years a local historian dared not come out into the open on the subject. Instead, he wrote:

Notwithstanding so many companies went from this county into the late war, many of the citizens strongly opposed it. In consequence of their opposition, much excitement prevailed during a portion of the time, resulting, however, in no very serious trouble except in a few instances. Many occurrences, both ludicrous and otherwise, might be related, but lest they stir up and keep alive old prejudices and differences, they will be passed over in silence.⁶

⁴ Interview with Winslow J. Taylor, Greenville, Ill.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Perrin, *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties*, 53.

A newspaper editor in an area with such radically opposed views could hardly carry water on both shoulders, and Alexander made no attempt to do so. One of his greatest contributions to the cause of the Union was his fearless attack on its enemies. He did not hesitate to name names or to scorch whole neighborhoods with his ire. Without doubt, he was cordially hated by his opponents. He could reason calmly on most issues, but to him a traitor was a traitor and a Southern sympathizer worse than a Southerner. His ruthless methods must have had a quieting effect on all but his doughtiest opponents. Some who might have done harm were shocked into silence and others shamed into open espousal of the Union.

Jediah Alexander was born in Shoal Creek Township in the northwestern part of Bond County, Illinois, on January 4, 1827. A biographical sketch written before his death shows that he believed himself "related to some or all of the six Alexanders who signed the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence." Alexander told his interviewer that he had often heard his father "speak of this document as a bona-fide instrument" and that this father had been "well acquainted with Thomas Polk, who read the declaration from the door of the courthouse in Charlotte, North Carolina, also with John McKnitt Alexander, the secretary of the convention, and with a number of the signers, all of whom related to him the circumstances of that declaration."⁷ Alexander also believed that his grandfather, an emigrant to North Carolina from the Susquehanna valley in Pennsylvania, had "fought against the British soldiers in the battle of the Regulators, this being the first blood shed in the great cause of American independence."⁸ These beliefs, even if erroneous, plus the fact that his ancestry included at least two Revolutionary soldiers,⁹ may

⁷ *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men. Illinois Volume* (Chicago, 1876), 775.

⁸ *The United States Biographical Dictionary. Illinois Volume*, 774.

⁹ Newton Bateman, Paul Selby, Warren E. McCaslin, eds., *Illinois Historical; Bond County Biographical* (Chicago, 1915), 651-52.

well have had a marked influence on his character.

Alexander's father, Josiah, had been a man of consequence in his own part of North Carolina and county surveyor of Cabarrus County for about eleven years. He eventually migrated to Tennessee, where at the age of forty-eight he married seventeen-year-old Frances W. McWhirter in 1820. In 1822, after a preliminary trip there with a brother, he moved to Bond County, Illinois, where he became part of a North Carolinian settlement on Shoal Creek. He was probably a man of some means, and eventually acquired 480 acres of land. The region into which young Jediah was born was a primitive, log-cabin frontier, a land of horse tug-mills, of "hog and hominy," mush, johnny cakes, boiled pork, and turnips, of spacious fireplaces, of worm fences and primitive agricultural tools.¹⁰

Jediah and his two younger brothers were far above the average of their time and place as to education, partly because their father spent long winter evenings by the fireside instructing them. At the district log school they were taught spelling, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography,¹¹ and at least one of the three finished his education at the village school at Greenville.¹² The training which they received bore fruit in youthful achievements. All became newspaper writers and editors at an early age, and their letters and editorials show real ability in handling the English language. The youngest of the three, Harvey, after a brief bout with the muses, became a farmer, and prospered.¹³ Cal, the second brother, edited various papers in Bond and Montgomery counties until 1876, with time out for a term in the state legislature, and then he too succumbed to the call of the land. Returning to Bond County in 1891, he remained a leading citizen until his death in 1914.¹⁴

¹⁰ *U. S. Biographical Dictionary. Illinois Volume*, 774-75.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 774.

¹² Bateman, Selby, and McCaslin, *Illinois Historical; Bond County Biographical*, 651-52.

¹³ Perrin, *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties*, 61, 85-86.

¹⁴ Bateman, Selby, and McCaslin, *Illinois Historical; Bond County Biographical*, 652.

The eldest of the three, Jediah, in his brief span of life far surpassed his brothers as to ability and success.

In 1848, when twenty-one years of age, Jediah moved to Greenville, the county seat, which had a population of about 350.¹⁵ Apparently he was already well informed as to local and national politics, for he plunged at once into the editorship of the *Barn Burner*, a Free-Soil sheet issued weekly during the political campaign of that year and printed on the press of the non-political *Greenville Journal*. A copy of the first issue was sent to Martin Van Buren, Free Soil candidate for President, who sent back a letter of approval and a five dollar bill.¹⁶ No copies of this paper have been preserved so far as is known.

In 1849 Jediah purchased a part interest in the *Journal*, and soon became its editor and manager, apparently financed in part and assisted by his two young brothers. Since biographers of Jediah and Cal differ as to details, their journalistic ups and downs are not entirely clear. Apparently Jediah was editor in 1853 when he was elected county treasurer and assessor and probably in 1856 when the *Journal* went all-out for Frémont. During one period Cal was actual editor, and at another time he was replaced by a man named Buchanan. Jediah in the meantime had taken up the study of law, and in 1857 was admitted to the bar. On February 11, 1858, he and Cal were again owners of the *Journal* and also of its companion paper, the *Greenville Courier*. The *Journal* was sold to an outsider, who took it to Macoupin, Illinois, and the *Courier* became the *Greenville Advocate* with Jediah as chief editor. In November he became sole editor.¹⁷

During his spare moments, Alexander practiced law, and

¹⁵ U. S. Census Office, *Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, 1854), 357.

¹⁶ Perrin, *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties*, 61-62.

¹⁷ U. S. *Biographical Dictionary. Illinois Volume*, 774-75. Perrin, *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties*, 61-62. Bateman, Selby, and McCaslin, *Illinois Historical; Bond County Biographical*, 651-52. John M. Palmer, *The Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1889), I: 527. *Greenville Advocate*, Nov. 18, 1858.

in 1860 he campaigned for the office of clerk of the circuit court of his district. Missing election by a narrow margin,¹⁸ he accepted an appointment as enrolling and engrossing clerk of the Illinois House of Representatives.¹⁹ In 1862 he became United States Collector of Internal Revenue for the Tenth District, a position he held until 1866.²⁰ During the whole period of his editorship he was partially tied up with other occupations, which frequently necessitated his absence from Greenville. Furthermore, he lost his right-hand man when Cal Alexander left with the first county contingent of volunteers in June, 1861.²¹ Jediah did not at any time explain his own reasons for not enlisting. He had married Priscilla W. Eaton, a young lady of Yankee extraction, in 1849, and by this time had several children,²² which probably was reason enough.

The extant files of the *Advocate*, now at the Illinois State Historical Library, are complete from the first issue through the year 1862, but unfortunately the only known file covering the remainder of the Civil War provided a repast for termites in Greenville some years ago. However, the available file contains most of Alexander's editorial work. In June, 1863, he sold the paper to his brother Cal, who after some hard service had been invalided home. Jediah was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives in 1866.²³ In 1867 he became president of the St. Louis, Vandalia, and Terre Haute Railroad, which by 1870 gave Greenville connections both east and west.²⁴ In 1869 he became vice-president and one of the supervisors of construction of the St. Louis and Southeastern.²⁵ He was elected state senator in 1870, but served only one term.²⁶

¹⁸ *Greenville Advocate*, Nov. 22, 1860.

¹⁹ *Blue Book of the State of Illinois*, 1931-1932 (Springfield, 1931), 757.

²⁰ *U. S. Biographical Dictionary. Illinois Volume*, 774-75.

²¹ *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois*, II: 226.

²² *U. S. Biographical Dictionary. Illinois Volume*, 774-75.

²³ *Illinois Blue Book*, 1931-32, 760.

²⁴ *U. S. Biographical Dictionary, Illinois Volume*. 775. Perrin, *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties*, 56-57.

²⁵ Perrin, *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties*, 56-57.

²⁶ *Illinois Blue Book*, 1931-32, 762.

The remaining years of his life were devoted to railway administration and finance. He died suddenly in 1876.²⁷

In his first issue of the *Advocate*, Alexander said, "It is our desire to make the *Advocate* a good county paper . . . It will not be the organ of any political party."²⁸ He discovered, however, that he could not remain nonpartisan, and from opposition to the Lecompton Constitution he soon moved to active support of the Republican party. In April, 1858, he wrote to Lincoln asking him to come to Greenville, and received a courteous reply in which Lincoln promised to come later and listed arguments he would use in his campaign against Douglas.²⁹ On August 2, Lincoln wrote, "I should be with Judge Douglas at your town on the 4th had he not intimated that my presence would be considered an intrusion. I shall soon publish a string of appointments following his present track, which will bring him to Greenville about the 11th of Sept. I hope to have Judge Trumbull with me."³⁰ Douglas came to Greenville in due course, and on September 13, Lincoln appeared to answer his arguments.³¹ Alexander was Lincoln's devoted admirer and supporter henceforth.

The *Advocate* gave liberally of its space to the speeches of various Republican leaders, but Alexander's greatest plaudits were saved for Lincoln. In 1860 he eliminated in kindly fashion the many other presidential contenders and picked Lincoln to win.³² He took an active part in organizing the rapidly increasing local Republican group, and reported their meetings and rallies in glowing terms; he thought that the Democratic rallies were tame by comparison, their flagpoles shorter than the Republican, and their speakers careless of the

²⁷ Perrin, *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties*, 85.

²⁸ *Greenville Advocate*, Feb. 11, 1858.

²⁹ Paul M. Angle, comp., *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* (Boston, 1930), 176.

³⁰ Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, 181-82. MS of this letter is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

³¹ *Greenville Advocate*, Sept. 16, 1858.

³² *Ibid.*, March 22, 1860.

truth.³³ His devotion, however, was not mere love of party but of the cause of freedom in the federal territories.³⁴ He was indignant when the *Advocate* was banned in Texas,³⁵ and as sponsor of the "Wide-Awake Club" denied that it leaned toward either abolitionism or Know-Nothingism;³⁶ nevertheless, to him slavery was an evil which should not be allowed to spread.

The 1860 vote in Bond County was very close. Lincoln polled 987 votes to 980 for Douglas, 25 for Bell, and 2 for Breckenridge, and Yates was the county choice for Governor by two votes, despite an overwhelmingly large Democratic vote in the northern townships. A sufficient number of voters split their ticket and thus defeated the local Republican slate, including Alexander who was defeated by 1035 to 936.³⁷ Alexander at once plunged into a campaign of castigation of Buchanan's weak-kneed policies, and urged hanging secessionists "as high as John Brown" rather than see the Union dissolved.³⁸ On January 10, 1861, during his absence on official duties at Springfield, his sub-editor apologetically stated that he believed the Union lost, an opinion with which his employer did not agree for a moment. He deplored the firing on the *Star of the West*, and in February urged that the "gallant Major" Anderson, remembered in Illinois for his part in the Black Hawk War, be sent supplies at once.³⁹

Soon after Lincoln's inauguration, Alexander went to Washington to see his old friend, Senator Trumbull, probably with hopes of securing an appointment, though he himself was critical of the rush of hangers-on who were dogging Lincoln's footsteps. He stayed for some weeks, and his letters home give

³³ *Greenville Advocate*, April 12, June 7, July 5, 26, Aug. 2, 16, 1860.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, April 12, 1860.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 16, 1860.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1860.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 15, 22, 29, 1860.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 20, 1860.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 17, Feb. 14, 1861.

an intimate picture of the madhouse which was Washington.⁴⁰ A letter printed on March 21 praised the new Cabinet, but warned his readers not to be critical if Lincoln abandoned Sumter. His correspondence shows acute observation and probable access to inside information. The rush of events made him homesick for the quiet of Greenville, however, and he read with nostalgia, copies of the *Advocate* which were sent to him.

There now occurred an event which must have been thrilling to the small-town lawyer and editor. For unexplained reasons, he was in Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on April 8, five days before the fall of Sumter. A delegation of the dominant Unionist group there paid him a hurried visit and asked him to act as their delegate to secure troops for their defense. Alexander rushed off on his errand, and saw the President at the White House. Lincoln was sufficiently impressed to call in Secretary of War Cameron. Some sort of plans were being considered when news came that the village and arsenal had been occupied by Virginia secessionists.⁴¹ This was the closest that Alexander ever came to direct participation in the war. The whole affair was one which could have occurred only in that hectic period.

In the meantime things had been happening in Bond County. On April 18, the *Advocate* announced that party politics were dropped for the duration. "Who but a traitor would say otherwise? Let the Government be sustained at all hazards." At the same time it printed a call, signed by ten prominent citizens of both parties, for a public meeting to raise troops. On the 20th a company was organized, officers were chosen, and daily drill was begun. By May 2, two companies were under arms. Alexander reached home a few days later and was very touched when the materials left over from mak-

⁴⁰ *Greenville Advocate*, March 14, 21, 28, April 4, 11, 1861.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, April 25, May 2, 1861.

ng the two company flags were made into two sashes and presented to him as a tribute by the "Ladies of Bond County."⁴²

The editor, glad to take the helm again, warned his readers of a terrible war ahead, one in which "ambitious traitors" would have to be beaten, but assured them that the Union, with right on its side and an "advantage in numbers and means," was certain to win.⁴³ His editorials bore heavily on the necessity of the war and the importance of a united front. Many were devoted to the scotching of false rumors, such as the one that any military draft would fall heaviest on Democrats.⁴⁴ He urged the expansion of farming operations. "We repeat, put it in corn. Attend to your gardens. Have something growing on every foot of ground . . . It will all be wanted."⁴⁵ He analyzed for his readers the political and war news of the day. At the death of Douglas, he devoted a full column to a fitting tribute.⁴⁶ The disaster of Bull Run was accepted as showing the need of greater sacrifice and effort.⁴⁷ The legality of the North's position in the Trent affair was supported, and the United States' ability to fight England, if need be, maintained.⁴⁸ Attempts were constantly made to explain Union strategy and to evaluate leadership. Alexander was slow to condemn McClellan, but eventually jumped on the bandwagon. He was inclined to overvalue certain western generals, such as Frémont and Pope, who were idolized by the troops.

Alexander promoted and publicized "Union meetings" at every opportunity. He encouraged the semireligious and strongly Unionist Independence Day celebrations in 1861 and 1862. He praised efforts of the Soldiers' Aid Society and later of the local chapter of the Sanitary Corps, and publicized their

⁴² *Greenville Advocate*, April 25, May 2, 9, 1861.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, May 9, 1861.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1862.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, May 16, 1861.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1861.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, July 25, 1861.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1861, and following issues.

money-raising ventures. He approved the forming of "Home Guards" in various parts of the county, except on one occasion when the avowed purpose was not sufficiently patriotic.⁴⁹ He gave editorial notice of formal ceremonies when volunteer companies were presented with flags, and less formal ones when they left for camp. On May 16, 1861, he described the departure of the first two companies as they rode southward in wagons toward Carlyle, where they were to take "the cars" to camp at Belleville. At the end he commented, "Bond has a small body, but a great soul."

Much editorial space was devoted to the encouragement of volunteering. Meetings with the avowed purpose of raising military companies could be certain of publicity in advance and praise afterwards. Plans for helping soldier families and for sending clothing and food to the camps received full cooperation, as did movements for payment of bounties. At times when new companies or replacements were needed, the *Advocate* pleaded, argued, cajoled, reasoned, and even threatened in order to draw men to the colors. The issue of July 17, 1862, printed Governor Yates' call, his letter to Lincoln, and McClellan's letter to his troops, besides one of Alexander's ablest editorials. In part the letter said:

The rebellion must be put down no matter at what expense of lives and money, or else we will have nothing left worth living for . . . There is no soul, except that of a traitor, so base as to desire a dissolution of the Union. . . . Already many lives have been lost, and yet there are ten times as many ready to be sacrificed, if need be, rather than permit the rebels and traitors to triumph. . . . The Government founded by our patriotic fathers and cemented by their blood, must be transmitted unbroken to our children. It would be an everlasting shame and disgrace to us to allow the Government to go down to our posterity in fragments.

By September 11 the editor was able to report that a draft would not yet be necessary in Bond County. Another effort was made to get volunteers. "Should this company be raised Bond will have sent into the field . . . in all about one thousand men."

⁴⁹ *Greenville Advocate*, Sept. 5, 19, 1861.

Politically, Alexander's consistent policy was to persuade as many "war Democrats" as possible to join the Union party. In each election he pointed out that the "rump" Democrat party contained all persons opposing or giving only lukewarm support to the war. Though usually mildly persuasive, he could speak bitterly against independent Democratic candidates. His policies were vindicated when the Union ticket carried the county in 1861 and voted against the "secession constitution" placed before the voters of the state by the "Vallandigham democracy" in the summer of 1862.⁵⁰ Even a greater victory was that in the fall elections of 1862 after a hard campaign. On November 6, Alexander permitted himself the luxury of headlines reading: "A Great Victory; Unionism Triumphant; Majority 190; The Whole Union Ticket Elected by a Large Majority; The Soldiers Voted and the Knights Didn't Like It; Hurrah for the Soldiers and the Union; Bully for Old Bond." It is noticeable that all four counties bordering Bond went Democratic. In this campaign Alexander successfully blackballed several candidates, among them the "gentlemanly and accommodating" sheriff, whom he adjudged too "unsound politically" to sit in the state legislature.⁵¹

From the beginning Alexander was alert for any signs of organized resistance to the war. In September, 1861, he castigated the leading spirits of the "Union Home Guards" of Round Prairie and Pleasant Prairie for enrolling Southern sympathizers and for having a constitution not sufficiently pro-Union. In the summer of 1862 he became alarmed by the formation of "a squad of the Knights of the Golden Circle" in the county. On July 31, he warned the group that he had their names, and on August 14, blamed them for an attack on a farmhouse west of Greenville. In the next issue he stated, "The dread of enlistment has sent many a pale face to the

⁵⁰ *Greenville Advocate*, Oct. 31, Nov. 7, 14, 1861; June 19, July 3, 1862.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1862.

bushes. Secret encampments are along the bottoms of the Okaw." Part of this may have been overstated for election purposes; at least it was less emphasized after the election. However, the danger of drafting was also over by that time. The county's worst outbreaks came at a later period, but never had large popular backing.

Alexander's changing views on Southern slavery are discernible rather early, and probably at all times were ahead of those of most of his readers. On November 21, 1861, he stated his belief that slavery would probably have to be uprooted to save the Union. On January 9, 1862, he gave his readers a history lesson on the subject, blaming Southern desire to perpetuate the institution as the fundamental cause of the war. By July 10, he was discussing the possibility of using Negro troops. His tone was cautious, and his willingness to recognize many shades of opinion on the Negro issue showed marked contrast to his inflexible attitude regarding the prosecution of the war.

In the beginning issue of the fifth volume of the *Advocate*, Alexander stated:

We shall continue to publish the latest and most reliable news, and keep our readers posted up in important matters. The interests of the county and its citizens shall receive especial attention. All important local news shall be published provided it comes to our knowledge. We resume the right, however, to withhold such matters from the public as are likely to produce discord and strife among neighbors, or be injurious to society in any particular.

In short, our design is to make the *Advocate* as good a county paper as can be made with the limited resources at our command.⁵²

Naturally his paper could not do as prompt or complete a job of news gathering as newspapers today, and he could hardly compete with the daily papers of nearby St. Louis of his own day. Nevertheless, by any standard he did a remarkably competent job.

⁵² *Greenville Advocate*, Feb. 6, 1862.

Alexander made a great effort to supply the demand for war news, political news, and news about the South. He had a working arrangement with the *Missouri Democrat* by which items clipped were considered the full property of the *Advocate*, in many cases being rewritten to fit available space or the editor's viewpoint. Extracts from other papers were usually lifted intact, in which case he credited his source. News was given clearly and succinctly and as accurately as possible. War news, however, always appeared in a hopeful vein. If good, hopes might be expressed of capturing Richmond soon, of the collapse of Southern morale, or of some new military victory; if bad, people were urged to greater exertion. Battles in the western theater of war were given more prominence than those in the eastern. News reporting of both political and military happenings was tied closely to editorial policy.

Reports of local events received even greater editorial scrutiny, but were given honestly and fairly within the framework of Alexander's political beliefs and patriotism. Election results were analyzed by townships as soon as all returns were in. Local meetings received recognition proportional to their relation to the war. For example, the issue of July 18, 1861, gave a belated but detailed and colorful account of an Independence Day celebration at the "Old Ripley Settlement" in the west part of the county, where Germans were particularly numerous. Two military companies, one entirely German, held maneuvers under the very military Major H. G. Jandt. A minister named Rodaker from Mulberry Grove gave the address of the day. All who came partook of the mountains of food provided for the occasion. Alexander did not even spare his temperance friends the fact that twenty-five barrels of lager beer were consumed. Such an event made good copy, but Alexander was chiefly concerned with the patriotic appeal.

Donation suppers, the profits of which went to war causes, political rallies, public meetings to encourage volun-

teering, and training programs of volunteer companies and home guards were given ample space. Muster rolls of Bond County companies were printed, and every change in the lineup of officers was noted. Eyewitness accounts of ceremonies for departing soldiers were always printed. The itineraries of various local companies were presented almost weekly as were the visits home of individual soldiers, who were often interviewed. After each battle, local casualties were given. Alexander frankly admitted that his neighborhood news coverage was somewhat sketchy and that he was handicapped by inability to pay correspondents,⁵³ but by any fair judgment he did well.

One of Alexander's avowed policies was to publish correspondence from his readers. Letters often reported local meetings and other happenings. Naturally, Democratic get-togethers were never reviewed in kindly fashion, while activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle received severe condemnation. Many letters were political in nature, varying in tone from Republican to Copperhead, the latter apparently printed as bait to bring answering letters. Those from former Democrats turned Republican or cooperating within the framework of the Union ticket were given prominence. Letters with various viewpoints on slavery were constantly published, sometimes leading to quarrels between moderates and abolitionists.

Especially valuable for propaganda purposes were letters from relatives of soldiers. Communications of those who visited army camps also received special attention. A letter of the Rev. William Gudinghagen, a kindly German who had gone along with his local company and was then at Memphis helping in a hospital, was printed on Christmas Day, 1862. His measured opinion was that "The Army is a hard place for a Christian." In the same issue, the Rev. Peter Long of Green

⁵³ *Greenville Advocate*, Jan. 30, Feb. 6, 1862.

ville gave news of camps at Memphis, and Helena (Arkansas), and was much concerned about life on the river boats. More tolerance of worldly things appeared in Alexander's own accounts of visits which he made to camps at Cairo, and at Bird's Point, Missouri.⁵⁴

Soldiers' letters proved to be one of the best features of the *Advocate*. Some were written by previous arrangement, others volunteered by soldiers reading the paper in camp. Nearly weekly, during the early days of the war, were "Dear Brother" letters from Cal Alexander, who advanced himself from sergeant to first lieutenant, then succumbed to some disease of the Missouri swamps, and was invalided home. Other correspondents wrote more or less regularly from training camps and the many fronts to which they were sent. During the summer of 1862 letters were printed from Forsyth (Missouri), Corinth, Pea Ridge, Camp Douglas (near Chicago), the Shenandoah Valley, Camp Danville (Mississippi), "Ske-daddledom" (Alabama), Helena (Arkansas), Fort Union (New Mexico), and other places far and wide.

These letters were filled with personalities, camp gossip, accounts of soldiers' pranks, and observations, often humorous, about military life. New inductees spoke with nostalgia of the farms and villages they had left, mentioned with pleasure the visits of home folks, admitted the difficulties of adjusting to discipline and long marches, dwelt on the prevalence of infectious diseases in camp, and mentioned with increasing tolerance the temptations of the camps and nearby cities. Older soldiers were amused at, and contemptuous of, the troubles of the recruits and far more reticent as to expressing sentiment, but also more concerned about the welfare of their families at home. Candid observations about the conduct of their fellows must have proved embarrassing to the latter in many cases, and veiled allusions nearly as much so. Some intimate glimps-

⁵⁴ *Greenville Advocate*, Aug. 8, 1861.

ses, such as that of a thousand disrobed soldiers bathing in a Missouri stream, are amusing.⁵⁵ More serious letters described various military actions and the day-by-day dangers of life in enemy country. Nothing else could have been as successful as these letters in tying the home front to the military one. The dying words of Joseph G. Howell, a young Bond County lieutenant, "Keep cool, boys, and shoot every rebel you can," were doubtless an inspiration to both.⁵⁶

Many of the farm and village boys in the army had never been away from home before. In their letters they tried to portray strange lands and people for the folks at home. A cavalryman at Rollo wrote, "These Missouri pies defy all powers of description. They are, like the inhabitants, the very symbols of wretchedness and poverty, the very fag ends of starvation."⁵⁷ "B" expressed pleasure at the friendliness of the wholesome Indiana and Ohio girls met en route to Virginia and considerable approval of the "rebel" girls in the latter state. He warned the Bond County girls, who of course could not marry "the traitors back home," that some Virginia brides would probably be brought back home.⁵⁸ O. W. Wallis was amused that Memphis girls boycotted a dance after Fourth of July speeches about hanging traitors.⁵⁹ One soldier who had talked to many prisoners thought that rebel morale was slipping.⁶⁰ A friend of Alexander, a major of a Missouri mounted rifle company, reported the work of "desperadoes" in Kansas.⁶¹ "Cornu," in Jackson, Tennessee, depicted the Negro "contrabands."⁶² "Old Soldier" recounted the pillaging and looting in the Corinth, Mississippi, area, in which the "butter-nuts" were despoiled of cotton, horses, and mules, and the Negroes taken "where the chains of slavery will bind them

⁵⁵ *Greenville Advocate*, June 13, 1861.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1862.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1861.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, July 17, Aug. 21, 1862.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1862.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1862.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1862.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1862.

no longer."⁶³ "Bond," newly arrived at Memphis, was struck by the sullen attitude of the Southerners.⁶⁴

Numerous letters gave the soldier viewpoint about politics, military strategy, foreign affairs, slavery, and non-supporters of the war at home. A letter of February 20, 1862, expressed indignation at nonprosecution of deserters, whose names were given. On May 15, O. W. Wallis optimistically declared that the "heroes of the West" would soon win the war, and on July 17, he mentioned with pleasure that "Shake-rag" (Mulberry Grove) had voted against the proposed state constitution. He suggested that the "demon" who tore down a flag at Newport be hanged. On July 10, a letter from "Democracy" in Danville, Mississippi, said, "Hands off the cheese . . . slavery will receive its dues after this rebellion is wiped out." He went on to warn Copperheads that any actions on their part would be revenged when the soldiers returned home. On August 21, 1862, a letter from "Schnapps" told the "Peace Societies" that the day of "nonintervention" was past. "It is Uncle Sam, who watched over us with such paternal care, that we would protect." Such letters must have had an important effect on public opinion at home. Had Alexander done nothing else for the war, he would have performed an important function in publishing them.

As an example of a patriotic editor during a period of strife, Alexander is of considerable historical interest. His influence, multiplied several hundred times to allow for other similar men, was of incalculable aid to the Union cause. As an individual he is particularly interesting because of his ability and personal magnetism and because of his apparent success in a region of divided loyalties. In the absence of records, it can only be presumed that he continued during the second half of the war to give unstintingly of his time and energy, and that he proved a support to his brother, who continued his work as editor.

⁶³ *Greenville Advocate*, Sept. 25, 1862.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1862.

JUBILEE COLLEGE AND ITS FOUNDER

BY VIRGINIUS H. CHASE

ABOUT the year 1846, there was a widely circulated story of a large fortune—the Chase-Townley estate of England. Prospective claimants in America at once became enthusiastic students of genealogy and produced an imposing family tree.

Bishop Chase would have told you that he was descended from one Aquila Chase of Chesham, England, whose baptism is recorded on August 14, 1580, and whose son, another Aquila, was baptized in 1618 and was the Aquila who owned land in Hampton, New Hampshire, in 1640. Research, however, shows these two Aquilas were both buried in England. We can only say that, although the name of Chase is rare in England and the name of Aquila rather unusual, we are most probably of that stock.

This being the case, we Chases in America may not lay claim to any British crest, or to kinship with the Thomas Chase burned at the stake for heresy, or with Samuel Chase, signer of the Declaration of Independence. But, starting with the Aquila whose memory is honored by a stone tablet in the New England Historic Genealogical Society Building in Boston, Massachusetts, for being the first pilot at the mouth of the Merrimack River, we find a continuous record.

This Aquila, together with his wife and brother-in-law, was arrested for gathering "pease" on the first day of the week. The case was called for September 29, 1646, was continued to

March 30, and finally, on March 28, 1647, they were admonished and their fine remitted. It is a family tradition that Captain Aquila had just returned from some months at sea on a diet of salt meat and hardtack, and craved green food. His descendants have never taken his "falling from grace" very seriously.

Tracing the family briefly, after the manner of the Scriptures: Aquila begat Moses, Moses begat Daniel, Daniel begat Samuel, Samuel begat Dudley, and Dudley begat Philander. Dudley Chase, with Allace his wife, after ten years in Sutton, moved into the wilderness where Cornish, New Hampshire, now stands.

Into this rugged life Philander, the youngest of fifteen children, was born on December 14, 1775. The Chases were a hardy tribe. Fourteen of the fifteen grew to maturity; the mother lived to be eighty-one and the father eighty-six. One of the sons became a physician, one a successful lawyer, one a bank president, one a judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont and United States Senator, and one a member of the Council of New Hampshire and father of Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase. In the wilderness of New Hampshire, Philander, the baby of the family, grew up to learn the use of the axe, the cradle, and the flail. As the older brothers and sisters married and left home, it became Philander's ambition to be a farmer and maintain a home for his parents in their old age.

Deacon Dudley and his wife were born and bred in the strict doctrine of the Puritan faith, and they had their hearts set on seeing their youngest son become a minister in the Congregational church. In that day the admonition "Children, obey your parents" was not to be disputed! Philander followed in the footsteps of four brothers who had graduated from Dartmouth College. While in his sophomore year he happened to find an Episcopal prayer book, and after giving

it considerable careful study, became so convinced of its historic authority and charmed with its dignified ritual and liturgy, that he became enthusiastic over the idea of becoming a clergyman.

Many years afterwards, the Rev. Doctor D. C. Roberts, in an address before the New Hampshire Historical Society on December 14, 1898, gave a summary of Philander Chase's character in these words: "He was a mighty man, a devout Christian, a picturesque character; original, self-willed, of an iron determination, extraordinary genius, courage, and industry." As "the child is father of the man" we find these characteristics early apparent. At the age of nineteen Philander persuaded not only his parents and all the family, but also the whole neighborhood, to embrace the Episcopal form of worship. The Congregational church building, being badly in need of repairs, was torn down and an Episcopal church erected in its place. Before graduation from Dartmouth we find Philander acting as lay reader in Hartland, Vermont, and Bethel and Cornish, New Hampshire. He graduated from Dartmouth with the degree of A.B. in 1795, and the next year, before his twenty-first birthday, married Mary Fay, a girl of sixteen. Having received an appointment as teacher in the public school of Albany, New York, with free access to a theological library, he completed his studies and was ordained deacon and appointed a missionary to northern and western New York.

His first baptism was of a sister of James Fenimore Cooper; his first sermon was preached in New York City. He continued as a missionary, constantly on the move, until November 10, 1799, when he was ordained to the priesthood in St. Paul's Church, New York City. In that year he traveled 4,000 miles, baptized 14 adults and 319 infants, preached 213 times, and distributed prayer books and catechisms to those unable to buy. The parishes not being able to support him, he

took charge of a seminary at Poughkeepsie, New York.

Later, owing to his wife's health, he went to New Orleans to see if it would be a suitable place for her. Here, he was the first Protestant minister to preach in Louisiana. It was in the Cabildo, the Supreme Court building, that this first Protestant service was held on November 17, 1805. After six years of strenuous work for the church, through a scourge of yellow fever, which was nearly fatal to him, he and his wife returned to the North, where he soon received a call to Christ Church in Hartford, Connecticut. Here he continued for six years amid comfort and plenty, and afterwards referred to these as the happiest years of his life.

But Philander Chase was a born pioneer, ready to do and to dare. Being convinced of the need of mission work in Ohio, he left the easy life among friends and in a March snowstorm started west. He settled on a farm near Worthington, Ohio, and wrote for his wife and infant son to join him. The first year he put out six hundred apple trees. Shortly thereafter his wife died, on May 5, 1818.

The next winter he went by horseback, amid piercing wind and snow, on slippery roads, through the Alleghenies to be consecrated the first Bishop of Ohio on February 11, 1819, in Philadelphia. This same year he married Sophia May Ingraham of Philadelphia. The work was hard in those early days in Ohio, and, nothing being provided by way of support for a bishop, he cut his own wood, threshed his own wheat with a flail, and tended his own livestock. Yet we find this record for the year 1820: "Travelled on horseback 1279 miles; Confirmed 174 persons; Baptized 50; Preached 182 times." The next year for a short time he served as president of a college in Cincinnati.

Convinced that the only way to get young men into the ministry of the church was to educate them, the founding of a school, college, and theological institution became his great

ambition. With this idea in mind, in October, 1823, the Bishop sailed for England on board the ship *Orbit*. He had a letter of introduction from Henry Clay to Lord Gambier. It seems to be human nature for many of the weaker members of society to resent the presence of strong, dominant characters, and there were those among the American bishops who, while ignoring Chase's previous appeals for help, still resented his going to England for it without their approval. So, upon his arrival in England, he faced the propaganda of the press and handbills denouncing his project. However, by sheer force of personality, and backed by Lord Kenyon and Lord Gambier, he met and convinced many wealthy men and women of the wisdom of his plan and returned to America with \$30,000 for the founding of a college.

At this time the Bishop's brother Dudley was a member of the United States Senate. A bill was introduced in the Senate to give the college a township of land. The bill passed the Senate but was defeated in the House. With the money from England, however, and funds raised in America, eight thousand acres were purchased in Knox County, Ohio. The plans for the building were drawn by Charles Bulfinch of Washington, D. C., the National Architect.¹ The walls were four feet thick at the base, receding six inches at each story.

In naming the college Kenyon and the post office Gambier, the Bishop wished to honor the two English lords who made it possible for him to accomplish his aim. Henry Clay secured for him the appointment as postmaster of Gambier. This was greatly to the Bishop's advantage, for in that day it cost twenty-five cents or more to send a letter, and the postmaster was allowed free postage both in and out.

The Bishop had returned from England in 1824. The

¹ Richard G. Saloman, "Philander Chase, Norman Nash, and Charles Bulfinch. A Study in the Origins of Old Kenyon," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. XV, No. 3 (Sept., 1946), 209-31. This study raises some question as to the part played by Charles Bulfinch as architect of Kenyon College.

College was formally opened in 1828. But the school had started on his farm at Worthington, and the first pupil's diary tells us that in January, 1826, there were twenty-five students, including five Indian boys. Board cost \$1.25 a week and tuition was \$10 per year in the grammar school, \$20 per year in the college. In 1829 we find seventy pupils, including sons of rich southern planters, Indians from three tribes, Irish, Welsh, one Greek, and one native of Hindustan. Philander Chase in his versatile, energetic way undertook personally to oversee and direct all operations about the college and the entire 8,000 acres. He was his own forester, landscape gardener, architect, and builder. It was he who saw to the digging of the millrace, the building of the dam, the construction of the sawmill, flour mill, and printing press. The following song was certainly founded on facts:

The first of Kenyon's goodly race
Was that great man, Philander Chase;
He climbed the Hill and said a prayer,
And founded Kenyon College there.

He dug up stones, he chopped down trees,
He sailed across the stormy seas,
And begged at every noble's door,
And also that of Hannah More.

The king, the queen, the lords, the earls,
They gave their crowns, they gave their pearls,
Until Philander had enough,
And hurried homeward with the stuff.

He built the college, built the dam,
He milked the cow, he smoked the ham,
He taught the classes, rang the bell,
And spanked the naughty freshman well.

And thus he worked with all his might
For Kenyon College day and night;
And Kenyon's heart still keeps a place
Of love for old Philander Chase.

Under his strong guidance things went well for several years. He had not wanted merely an educational institution, but a theological school; on this basis he had secured the money in England. When the younger members of the faculty wished to set aside this precept and appoint a president having no episcopal authority, the Bishop wrote out his resignation; this was a matter of principle to him. It was the old question, as old as civilization: is it better have a benevolent dictator or a democracy? This was a hard blow to Philander Chase, but Kenyon College still lives and carries on to this day.

Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase was one of the first pupils in Kenyon College; President Rutherford B. Hayes was an alumnus, Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite a trustee; Justices David Davis and Stanley Matthews, both of the United States Supreme Court, were graduates. Henry Winter Davis and Edwin M. Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, were also among her distinguished sons. Among the theologians may be mentioned Bishops Joseph P. B. Wilmer, William Crane Gray, John Hazen White, Lewis W. Burton, Francis Key Brooke, and John Mills Kendrick, all holding degrees from Kenyon.

Immediately on his resignation, in September, 1831, Philander Chase took his family to an old cabin in the woods. He rebuilt a chimney of rock and clay, put down a new puncheon floor, moved in and made beds on the floor. That winter the Bishop chopped his own wood and killed game for the family, and on Sunday preached to the neighbors who crowded into the little cabin. On Easter, 1832, he administered communion for the last time in Ohio. The next day, on his big white horse "Sol," and in company with Bezaleel Wells and the latter's son, Francis, he started for what is now Branch County, Michigan. Here, on the shore of a lake a mile and a half long, fed by clear streams and abounding with fish, he bought, with the assistance of Judge Dudley Chase of Vermont, 10,000

acres at \$1.25 an acre, with burr oak timber and open prairie. He called the place the land of Gilead, and Gilead Lake still retains the name. A carpenter was hired to erect a cabin, and a plowman to break fifty acres of prairie. Philander Chase stayed to plant potatoes and dropped corn with his own hand. Then he hurried back to Ohio to his family. Later, two trips by what he called his "Quaker wagon" brought the family and household goods. After providing shelter and food for his family, the Bishop left the boys and hired help to tend the crop, and went again from place to place preaching, with no competition from any of his own faith and but little from others.

A Potawatomi Indian trail went past the new cabin, and seldom did a day pass without the Chase family seeing from five to thirty Indians. The red men often stopped and were given food, of which the men ate greedily, but gave none to their wives. Seeing this, the Bishop helped the squaws first, to the chagrin of the men, but invariably the women, after eating half, gave the rest to their husbands.

Then, out of a clear sky, came word from Peoria notifying Bishop Chase that he had been elected first Bishop of the Episcopal church of Illinois. After a brief survey of his new diocese, which stood in the same need as Ohio had years before, he determined to build another college. He went to the General Convention in New York, and, finding no disposition in the East to help, started once again for England, on the packet *St. James*, on October 1, 1835. Lord Kenyon, Lady Rosse, the widow of G. W. Marriott, and the Bishop of Sodor and Man all met him with affectionate greetings; he was entertained by the Lord Mayor of London, and received many substantial donations; but since England was suffering a depression, and many of his old friends were dead, the subscriptions were much less than they had been for Kenyon. I can only find record of \$9,480.

While in England Chase received a letter from his wife telling of the burning of the Gilead home, together with nearly all their possessions. It was in January, and the family escaped barefoot, taking refuge in a schoolhouse.

The Bishop got back to Michigan on June 28, 1836. He was still full of the pioneer spirit, but at the age of sixty-one it must have been much harder for him to face the wilderness and undertake the new project. With his family he started on the journey to Peoria County. His little daughter Mary wrote of riding old "Cincinnatus." But the second day the horse was found to be too lame to travel. A bit of board was tied to his neck, inscribed:

My name is Cincinnatus. I belong to P. Chase, Gilead, now Bishop of Illinois. I am eighteen years old and somewhat lame. Let me pass on to Gilead, where I shall be well taken care of through the winter, as a reward for my past services.²

He was turned loose and heard of no more, but probably went directly home. The party soon reached Grand Prairie, where they evidently stopped for a while, as a visit to Chicago is here mentioned. They were entertained at the home of John H. Kinzie.

When the Bishop reached Peoria County he found sawed lumber selling for from \$40 to \$50 per thousand. He built a little cabin of mud and sticks for his family and named it the "Robin's Nest." As soon as the Illinois River was clear of ice in the spring, the Bishop was on his way around the diocese. As his call to act as the Bishop of Illinois had specifically said "No salary can be expected," even the gift of some rutabaga seed is recorded with grateful appreciation, and sent back to his wife.

Philander Chase, all through life, took most seriously his call to preach, and seems to have felt that others should

² Philander Chase, *Bishop Chase's Reminiscences: An Autobiography* (2d ed.; Boston, 1848) II:366.

be compelled to listen. Once in the early 1840's, he visited Elgin, "a village with a few houses, a hotel and a mill," and stopped at the hotel for dinner. Standing at the head of the table, he rapped loudly and said, "Let us first ask God's blessing on our food." In sheer astonishment, many stood agape but were silent while grace was said. During the meal he announced that services would be held at the schoolhouse at 4:00 P.M. It being a weekday, no one appeared. "Ring the bell," said the Bishop. It was rung, but no one came; "Ring it again," he said. One individual came, looked in, and departed. "Ring it until they come," commanded the Bishop. At the continued ringing, every last inhabitant turned out to see what was the matter, and the Bishop had a full congregation!

One Sunday in 1850, while traveling by steamboat, he announced a service. The passengers, a rough lot, crowded in. Most of them had never seen a bishop nor heard of a prayer book. But, following his invariable custom, he proceeded with prayer book service, explaining the parts as he went along. Then he said, "Now, dear friends, let us kneel down and confess our sins to Almighty God." Two or three knelt; with a little deeper bass the Bishop's voice rolled through the room: "My friends, kneeling is the fit position in which to confess our sins to God." A few more went down. Banging his fist on the table, the old man roared in a voice of thunder: "Kneel down, I say, every one of you!"

"And," said one present, "they all went down as if they had been shot!"

Philander Chase found it hard to obtain as large a body of land as he wished in Peoria County. Locations in McLean County, in LaSalle County, and on the island of Rock Island in the Mississippi River, were all under consideration. But eventually some government land in Peoria County was secured at \$1.25 per acre. This, with other tracts that had been purchased, made a grand total of 3,160 acres for the college.

Lime and brick kilns were soon in operation, furnishing cheap building material for the smaller buildings and homes of the faculty. Native sandstone was cut for the college, and its cornerstone was laid in April, 1839. The ceremony was witnessed by the church people of Farmington, Brimfield, Limestone, and Orange Prairie.

The money from England having been invested in land, and the college structure only well begun, the Bishop started in the South and went from city to city and from parish to parish, through Louisiana, the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, and then on to New England, gathering funds. A woman in the Carolinas gave a bell; a man in Brooklyn, a pipe organ; one woman, hearing of the wreck of the old "Quaker wagon," ordered a new one shipped to Peoria by way of New Orleans. Then, as now, the poor people were most attracted to the church, and many boys were unable to pay the \$100 tuition. A year or so later, the Bishop obtained thirty-five scholarships in addition to other funds. The report to the General Convention in 1843 showed fifty students and all rooms full. The same year, a house of fourteen rooms was built for the Bishop's family and to house the female seminary conducted by the Bishop's daughter Mary.

The students went out into the surrounding region to act as lay readers. Missions were established in Kickapoo, Limestone, Brimfield, Wyoming, Preemption, St. Charles, Macomb, and Princeville. St. Paul's Church in Peoria began as a mission, founded in 1848 by the Rev. Jacob S. Chamberlain, a student of Jubilee College. Its first service was held in the old courthouse. In 1849, the present lot on the corner of Main and Monroe streets was purchased by Philander Chase and a donation of land was received from John Birket.

Jubilee College received a generous donation from residents of South Carolina, which was invested in a mill two miles down the Kickapoo for the grinding of corn and wheat

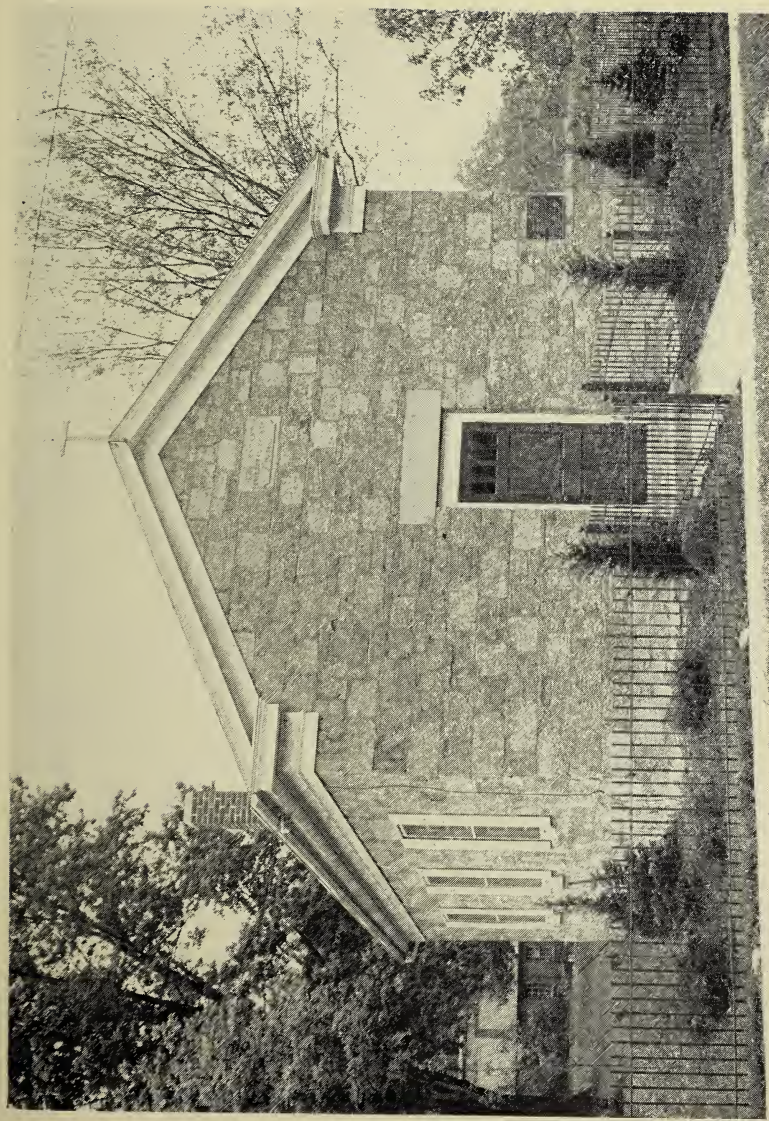
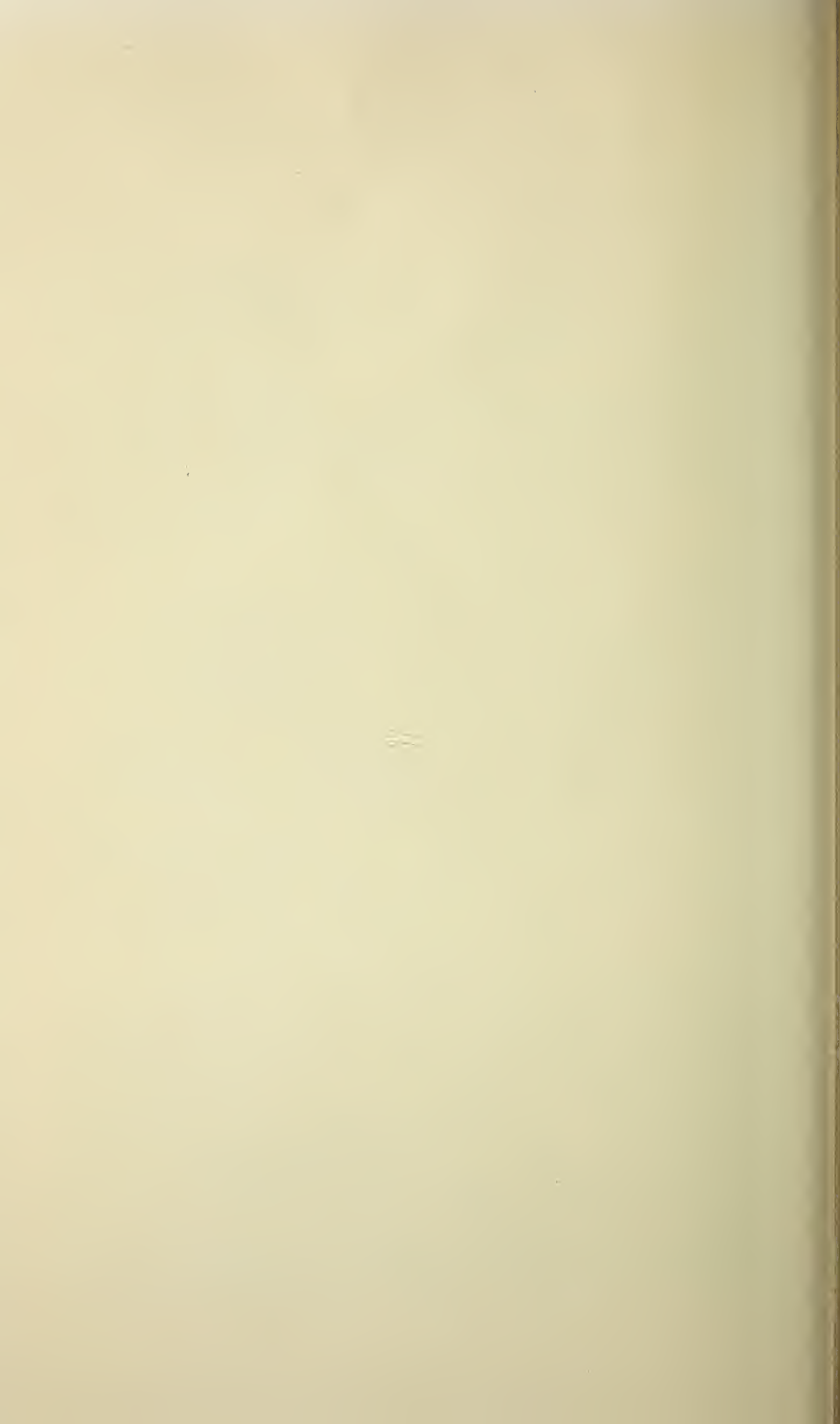


Photo by Godfrey G. Luthy

ZION EPISCOPAL CHURCH AT BRIMFIELD, ILLINOIS



and the sawing of native lumber. The burning of this by an incendiary was a hard blow to the college, and the next year floods destroyed all the bottomland crops. A man came in with a deed recorded in Edwardsville, claiming the land on Jubilee Hill. The United States court at Springfield upheld the Bishop's claim. But an appeal under another judge in Chicago reversed the decision, and the Bishop paid \$1,600 and costs out of his own pocket to clear the title.

Then came the death of the founder of the college. He was heavy of body and weakened with the weight of years. One day, while out driving with Mrs. Chase, the harness broke; the shafts fell; the horse plunged and threw the old man to the ground. When lifted by the students his first words were, "You may order my coffin," and as they laid him on his bed he said: "Thank you, thank you, you will have to carry me but once more, and that to my grave." Five days later, on Monday, September 20, 1852, he died. His grave is in the cemetery near the college, surrounded by an iron fence and marked with a monument.

He had set his house in order. His will, attorneys have declared, was a masterpiece. The Robin's Nest farm, purchased with his own money, he left to his widow; all other land in his name was left to the college, as was also much personal property, including a library of more than fifteen hundred volumes and communion plate valued at over \$300. The entire estate was valued at over \$80,000. The will reads in part:

Regarding the debt of Jubilee College to me for money which I have advanced from my lands sold in Michigan and from other sources for the benefit of Jubilee College; the interest on this money, thus advanced, I freely relinquish for the benefit of Jubilee College. . . . The principal, be it more or less, shall bear interest at 6 per cent from and after my death and be disposed of after the following manner, viz; One third of said sum, to be paid to my wife, on or before the expiration of one year. The other two-thirds of the money advanced by me to be funded and proper securities taken according to law and the interest paid annually in ad-

vance for board and education of my grandchildren and their male heirs forever.

The widow did receive her share, less some unkind deductions, but, with one exception, none of the descendants ever received a cent of the Bishop's legacy to them!

The guidance of the college now fell into feeble hands. Dr. Samuel Chase, as president, a man learned in Greek and Latin and classic lore, left nothing to be desired as a professor. Bishop Henry J. Whitehouse was eloquent of speech, learned in theology, a master of Christian discipline, and the possessor of manners polished to the last degree. But neither he nor Dr. Chase was qualified to solicit funds; neither had the executive ability to conduct business transactions. Relations between the North and the South were becoming strained, and soon patronage and contributions from the South ceased. The Civil War came. Dr. Chase enlisted as chaplain of the 14th Illinois Cavalry, and the little school, left in the hands of the Rev. Henry Safford, melted away. Dr. Chase, upon his return, found only vacant seats and empty halls.

Here really ends the history of Jubilee as a college. Contrary to the will of Philander Chase, land was sold from time to time. At no time, however, does it ever appear that any account was kept or that any funds were held back to make good the debt of honor to the heirs—that they might have an education!

Among the several bishops and many trustees of the college who served between the death of Philander Chase and the purchase by Dr. Zeller, there must have been some good men and true, but nevertheless, the Episcopal church in Illinois, having been given an established institution, free of debt and endowed with 3,160 acres and other valuable property, soon had but 98 acres left. All concerned in this state of affairs, brought on by inefficiency or dishonesty, are dead, and it would be profitless at this late day to attempt to fasten the

blame on any one. No determined effort to solicit funds to put the college in running order ever seems to have been made by those in authority. Various priests in charge of the parish did at times tutor and conduct classes.

The Rev. Thomas Haskins, in 1883, with permission of the Bishop of that day, spent several thousand dollars of his own and got a government contract for the education of twenty Indian boys from the Indian missions of the Northwest, but an attack of tuberculosis put an end to his career. Later a Dr. Whitty carried on in a small way. Finally one Dr. Raymond Riordan, I am told, organized a school and later moved to Indiana, taking the entire student body and some movable property along.

The building was now left crumbling; no one apparently cared. Someone had locked the cemetery gates. This act aroused indignation and resentment among those whose dead were laid to rest there. Finally a young man, recently returned from the war in Europe with some fight still left in him, consulted a Peoria lawyer and soon got action. The charter of the college was annulled; the remaining few acres reverted to the heirs, and the land was put up at public auction on July 8, 1931. Dr. George Zeller, a public-spirited man, bought the property and in the name of his wife presented the buildings and cemetery to the care of St. Paul's Church, Peoria. The Boy Scouts of America were given the remainder of the land with certain provisions, which they were unable to meet. Dr. Zeller then gave the land to the State of Illinois for a state park.

If you would draw a moral from this tale—give no man your confidence because of clerical garb, and leave nothing in trust without placing the trustees under bond!

SOME ILLINOIS INFLUENCES ON THE LIFE OF WILLIAM E. BORAH

BY WALDO W. BRADEN

LONG ago, Quintilian, the Roman rhetorician, advised that the education of the orator commences in the cradle. He emphasized the importance of boyhood training in the development of the successful man of the court and forum. Modern psychologists have confirmed these observations by their work in the field of aptitude testing. If, therefore, we are to understand William E. Borah, who, during his long political career, was one of the most successful and most feared debaters of the Senate, we must start with an investigation of the forces that shaped his boyhood—those years spent in southern Illinois, from his birth in 1865, to 1883, when he departed for the West. What did southern Illinois contribute to the Great Isolationist during those first eighteen, formative years? For our answer let us look at the Borah family, the Tom's Prairie Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the neighborhood country school, and the Southern Illinois Academy at Enfield.

In 1820, John Borah, grandfather of the Idaho Senator, and his brothers brought their families from Kentucky to live at Tom's Prairie, known today as Jasper Township, Wayne County. The Borahs were sturdy, hard-working, God-fearing men of purpose. In this pleasant area, they intended to plant their roots deeply. In 1822, they helped establish the Tom's Prairie Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Furthermore, recognizing the importance of education, they started the first school

in the county. From the beginning they were recognized for "the Christian and moral stamina" which they contributed to their community.¹

William N. Borah, father of the Idaho Senator, was only three when the family settled in Illinois. His education was limited to what he received in a country school. He was a devout elder in his church, and when a minister was not available William N. Borah filled the pulpit. He was a staunch Republican, a several-times-elected supervisor of his township, and an influential citizen. The Idaho Senator spoke of his father as "land poor." Although he always provided adequately for his family of ten children, he did not accumulate sufficient wealth to provide them with advanced education.² But he carefully supervised their moral and religious instruction. Sternly he taught his children absolute standards of right and wrong.³ From him, his son learned his first lessons in politics. He met political leaders. John A. Logan, senator from Illinois, was sometimes his father's guest.⁴ The Idahoan characterized his father as "a student of politics, both here and in other parts of the world." Often, said the Senator, his father discussed with him public affairs and led him to see that "the mistakes of the great men of the Civil War came from their blind partisanship."⁵ He, perhaps, was the one who was responsible for his son's admiration of Washington, Monroe, Jefferson, and Lincoln. Borah's father was responsible for the foundations of the political philosophy of the Great Isolationist.

Little is known of Elizabeth West Borah, mother of the Senator, except that her people came from Indiana and that

¹ *History of Wayne and Clay Counties, Illinois* (Chicago: Globe Publishing Co., 1884), 50, 52, 209, 215-16.

² James O'Donnell Bennett, "Presidential Possibilities—Borah," *Liberty Magazine* (March 3, 1928), 32.

³ Based on an interview of Mrs. Martie Rinard, sister of William E. Borah, at Fairfield, Illinois, Sept. 4, 1940.

⁴ Claudius Johnson, *Borah of Idaho* (New York, 1936), 5.

⁵ Jonathan Mitchell, "Borah Knows Best," *The New Republic*, Vol. 85 (Jan. 29, 1936), 333.

she changed her religious affiliation from Methodist to Cumberland Presbyterian when she married. She had been characterized as a "retiring, sweet, gentle mother who allowed her children to tease her into granting them many little favors and indulgences frowned upon by a stern father."⁶

In the small family library, the Bible had the foremost place.⁷ Among other books were: *Pilgrim's Progress*, a biography of Washington, Franklin's *Autobiography*, a few of Scott's novels, and Daniel March's *Night Scenes in the Bible*. A newspaper or two such as the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* were received at the Borah farm. The children were urged to read what the elder Borah approved.⁸ In spite of parental disapproval, young William became an admirer of Ingersoll after reading *Some Mistakes of Moses*. Ingersoll may have stimulated the future orator to be more observant of style and to aspire to be a fluent and forceful speaker.⁹

Another early influence in the future orator's life was the little country school he first attended at Tom's Prairie, a mile or so from the Borah farm. The teacher, in most cases poorly trained and always poorly paid, had twenty-five or thirty pupils to supervise. His tenure was short. The school term was about six months in length. Before young William had finished his first eight grades, the one-room school was replaced by a two-room structure in which the teacher was given an assistant to aid with the lower grades.¹⁰

Like Albert J. Beveridge, Borah first read from a

⁶ Johnson, *Borah of Idaho*, 7.

⁷ Based on an interview of Mrs. Mattie Rinard, of Fairfield, Illinois, Sept. 4, 1940.

⁸ Johnson, *Borah of Idaho*, 7.

⁹ James R. Stotts, "Bill Borah—the Story of His Life," *Boise [Idaho] Capital News*, Jan. 24, 1936. James B. Morrow, "Drama of Untamed West," *Washington [D. C.] Herald*, April 17, 1910.

¹⁰ Based on interviews with Mrs. Rinard and Frank Heidinger of Fairfield, Illinois, and on letters from T. W. Heidinger, of Carbondale, Ill., all of whom attended school at Tom's Prairie while William E. Borah was there.

McGuffey's Reader¹¹ some of the oratorical efforts of Daniel Webster, Patrick Henry, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, William Wirt, and Lord Chatham (William Pitt). Many of these he later reread and frequently quoted in his congressional debates. Through the medium of W. H. F. Henry's *The Normal United States History*, he read his first history, a subject he diligently studied throughout the remainder of his life. In the Wayne County schools he received his first training in speechmaking. The older citizens of Fairfield, Illinois, still relate many incidents concerning how Willy Borah gave "speeches" to his playmates. Years later, when asked about his "maiden speech," he jokingly stated that he began his public speaking career "between two rows of corn . . . with the whole earth for my auditorium and one indifferent mule as my auditor." From this "arena" he stated that he "glided into debates of the common school without any embarrassment by reason of the change of scene."¹² Young Borah also took an active part in the local literary society, an important institution of the community.¹³

Borah's elementary education was obtained under adverse conditions and was probably deficient in many respects. No matter how conscientious the teacher may have been, he was

¹¹ The books used in Wayne County schools were as follows: William Holmes McGuffey, *McGuffey's Eclectic Readers* [first to sixth] rev. ed.

Emerson E. White, *New Elementary Arithmetic*.

Emerson E. White, *New Complete Arithmetic*.

New Eclectic two-book series:

Eclectic Elementary Geography

Eclectic Complete Geography

Thomas W. Harvey, *Elementary Grammar and Composition*, rev. ed.

Thomas W. Harvey, *Revised English Grammar*.

Calvin Patterson, . . . *Common School Speller*.

W. H. F. Henry, *The Normal United States History*.

¹² Z. B. West, Wayne County Superintendent of Schools, in presenting the above list, stated that after examination of the text books used in the four districts, he concluded "the four districts have uniformity of Text Books." Circular No. 2, Office of County Superintendent of Schools, Fairfield, Illinois, Sept. 1, 1883. This circular is pasted on page 7 of *School Superintendent Record of Wayne County of 1883*, deposited in the office of the County Superintendent, Fairfield, Ill.

¹³ William E. Borah to G. Douglas Wardrop, Nov. 3, 1914, Borah Papers (MSS in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.).

¹⁴ Letters from Mrs. Mattie Rinard, and from T. W. Heidinger, *Wayne County Record* [Fairfield, Ill.], March 6, 1884, p. 4.

severely handicapped by too many duties and too little equipment. As in some of our modern country schools, the pupil had to rely on his own initiative if he wanted more than the rudiments of the three R's.

During the school year of 1881-1882, William commenced his secondary education at Southern Illinois Academy (later changed to Southern Illinois College), a Cumberland Presbyterian institution located at Enfield, Illinois. This was about twenty-five miles south of the Borah farm. The "Enfield Academy," as it was popularly called, occupied a two-story brick building with eight classrooms, but possessed only meagre equipment. Its income was derived solely from tuition and irregular gifts from the church.¹⁴ Its library contained less than two hundred volumes.¹⁵ The faculty was composed of four or five members and the president, Professor Mark A. Montgomery, a graduate from Lincoln College in Lincoln, Illinois. Students enrolled at any time during the school year that was most convenient; they took work according to their needs and attainments. At the beginning of the fall term when young Borah entered, sixty-three were enrolled; by the following spring, the enrollment had increased to one hundred and twenty.¹⁶

The town of Enfield and the academy provided the kind of environment the elder Borah preferred for his sixteen-year-old son. An Enfield reporter for the Carmi paper recorded that parents could not find a better place for children, for no liquors were sold in the town, and there were four churches—Presbyterian, Cumberland Presbyterian, Methodist, and Christian.¹⁷ The 1890 catalogue announced the purpose of the

¹⁴ A. Edison Smith, "The Academies and Seminaries of Southern Illinois" (M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1937), 87-91.

¹⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Education* (Washington: Govt. Print. Off., 1896), Vol. II, p. 2020.

¹⁶ *History of White County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1883), 707-08, 729.

¹⁷ *Carmi [Ill.] Times*, April 5, 1881.

stitution as follows:

[It is] a school in which young men and young women are trained for active life, for a proper enjoyment of its pleasures, a right appreciation of its duties and obligations, and the ultimate accomplishment of its highest objects . . . the greatest good to humanity and the greatest glory to God.

The academy required its students to attend Sunday school and church and the morning chapel services unless excused by the faculty.

During his year at Enfield, the future senator studied arithmetic, history, geography, physical geography, and Latin. A review of 1889-90 catalogue of Southern Illinois College indicates that Borah might have taken other subjects.¹⁸ Borah had some difficulty with mathematics, excelled in Latin, but preferred the study of literature and history.¹⁹

Under the tutelage of Professor Montgomery, Borah and Wesley Jones, later senator from Washington, received some guidance and encouragement in speechmaking. The practice they received was largely through the medium of the school literary society. Mrs. Nellie Gowdy Montgomery, who was in school with two future senators, states:

The Literary Society was made a very important part of the school work, and Will Borah took an active part in it. Professor Montgomery, who was himself a very fluent speaker, gave much time to the training of the students along that line. Many times, Jones and Borah faced each other in debate with as much zeal, if not as much dignity, as in Washington, D. C.²⁰

The programs of the society must have attracted considerable attention in the little community. A severe complaint was registered when the attendance of town folks was barred:

¹⁸ Smith, "Academies and Seminaries of Southern Illinois," 65.

¹⁹ Johnson, *Borah of Idaho*, 11.

²⁰ Based on a letter from Mrs. Nellie Gowdy Montgomery, of Long Beach, Calif., to the author dated Sept. 28, 1940. Borah stayed at the home of Mrs. Montgomery's father. Mrs. Montgomery was a member of the first graduating class in 1884. Later, she taught in the institution and married the younger brother of Professor Montgomery.

The college Literary Society is rather a selfish institution excluding all except its members from its meetings. There ought to be sufficient talent in the school now to make the Society entertaining and instructive to the public, and we would think it would be encouraging to the Society for the public to take an interest in their work.²¹

The young orator undoubtedly had acquired a reputation for fluency, for once when a scheduled speaker failed to appear for a political rally, Borah was selected to address the crowd, a task he is reported to have accomplished to the satisfaction of his listeners. During his year at Enfield his interest in politics was heightened by other rallies that he attended.

Young Borah spent only one year at the Cumberland Presbyterian academy. Possibly because of a slight breach of discipline on the part of young Borah, partly for financial reasons and partly because he disapproved of his son's ambition to become a lawyer, the elder Borah failed to provide for the return of his son the second year. Consequently, for a year young William remained at home, helping his father run the farm. During this year he seriously contemplated joining a traveling Shakespearean troupe, but more sober judgment, and probably the disapproval of his father deterred him from following the impulse.²² The following year he went to Lyon, Kansas, to live with a sister whose husband was an attorney. He had definitely decided that he wanted to be a lawyer.

In summary, it is evident that many of Borah's basic tenets had their origins during these years. Under the tutelage of his parents, the neighborhood Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the one-room country school, and the "Enfield Academy" he developed many of his religious and moral concepts. The Bible, leading book in the Borah household, remained a favorite throughout his life. According to his own testimony he learned religious tolerance from his father. Moreover, his father first stimulated and fostered his interest in politics and

²¹ *Carmi* [Ill.] *Times*, April 11, 1882.

²² Johnson, *Borah of Idaho*, 12, 13.

political questions. During these brief years, he developed an insatiable hunger for information, especially about literature, history, government, and law. Furthermore, he demonstrated his interest in debating, an art in which he later had few equals. Perhaps in these early surroundings were nurtured his independence, his sincerity, and his hatred of intrigue. Perhaps also, he developed his admiration for traditional policies which he so unswervingly defended in later years.

RED STACKS IN THE SUNSET*

BY THE REV. EDWARD J. DOWLING, S. J.

CHICAGO'S early history is tragically linked with the name of Detroit. The settlement that is now America's second city was once the military outpost of Fort Dearborn. On July 29, 1812, General Hull at Detroit ordered Captain Nathan Heald to evacuate Fort Dearborn and retire to Fort Wayne. Complying with the request on August 15, Heald's command was destroyed by the Indians a short distance from the fort. The old fort with blockhouses and stockade stood on the south bank of the Chicago River at what is now the intersection of Michigan Avenue and Wacker Drive. The London Guarantee Building now stands on the old Fort Dearborn Reservation.

Today the west pylon on the south end of the bridge commemorates the massacre and states that "Fort Dearborn stood almost on this spot." On the north end of the bridge and at the head of the stone steps leading to the water is a bronze tablet marking the end of the old road that led from Green Bay and Fort Howard to Fort Dearborn. There might well be a bronze marker on the east pylon on the south end of the bridge dedicated to the memory of the man whose ships for years docked near this spot, a man whose enterprise aided the growth of the city of Chicago. This man was Captain A. E. Goodrich.

* The author is indebted especially to Mr. Herman G. Runge, of Milwaukee, the Rev. Canon Frank C. St. Clair, of Manitowoc, and Mr. William A. McDonald of Detroit for information and assistance in the preparation of this article. This paper was read before the Marine Historical Society of Detroit on May 23, 1946.

Captain Goodrich was born in 1825, a native of Buffalo, New York. In his youth and early manhood he was in the employ of Captain Eber Brock Ward. When he achieved the rank of master, he sailed Ward's ships on the St. Joseph to Chicago line. By 1855, however, the Michigan Central Railroad was approaching Chicago via Indiana, and Ward's cross-lake shuttle was doomed to slow extinction. Ward sold his Lake Michigan fleet, some of the vessels being acquired by their captains. Thus Captain Goodrich came to own the 348-ton side-wheeler *Huron*, a relatively new ship, built at the Ward yards at Newport (now Marine City), Michigan, in 1852. Seeking a suitable landing in Chicago, the thirty-year-old captain secured a strip of land on the south side of the river east of the present intersection of Michigan Avenue. He also found a similar dock site in Milwaukee, at what would later be the Sycamore Street Bridge.

In the spring of 1856, Goodrich began sailing his little steamer—going, as the service demanded, between Chicago and Milwaukee, and from Milwaukee to the shore settlements in Wisconsin as far north as Two Rivers. The only known picture of this vessel shows it painted white with a dark funnel. More than likely her funnel was red with a black top, the traditional Ward colors. Pictures of later Goodrich vessels show the lower hull dark, but as far back as can be ascertained the stacks were always painted a bright orange-red.

The little *Huron* was a success, and Captain Goodrich was forced to expand operations. This he did by buying another ship, this time a propeller, the *Ogontz*, which he operated for three years. More vessels followed her into the growing fleet. One of these was the *Comet*, a Ward-built side-wheeler of 350 tons. In the Goodrich line her first commander was Captain Frederick Pabst. Captain Pabst did not sail long, however. After his marriage into the influential Best family of Milwaukee, new horizons, not of water, opened to him. Con-

temporary to, and in competition with men like Valentine Blatz, Herman Schlitz, Miller, and others, the name of Pabst would as the years passed on, give to the city of Milwaukee an undying reputation.

The side-wheeler *Wabash Valley* was in the Goodrich line in 1861. Later in the same year there came from the Manitowoc yards of Stephen and John Bates the brand new *Sunbeam*, a trim side-wheeler of 400 tons.

The years from 1860 to 1865 were hard years all over the Great Lakes due to the Civil War. Furthermore, travel on Lake Michigan had been retarded by the tragic sinking of the *Lady Elgin* probably off Waukegan, Illinois, with the loss of nearly three hundred lives.

The *Lady Elgin* was a palatial liner of one thousand tons, nearly 300 feet long, built in 1851 and named for the wife of Lord Elgin, Governor of Canada from 1847 to 1854. She had been chartered to take a Milwaukee group to a political rally in Chicago, and was on her return trip during the stormy night of September 7-8, 1860. Near the Illinois-Wisconsin line, the vessel was struck amidships by a loaded lumber schooner, the *Augusta*, coming south with the northeaster in her sails. The *Lady Elgin* sank soon afterward. Many lost their lives on the spot, but others found safety amid the floating wreckage, especially on the upper deck covering which Captain Jack Wilson had ordered to be chopped loose. A majority of the survivors floated safely on this makeshift raft, only to meet death in the heavy surf at the shore line at Winnetka, Illinois. Captain Wilson died with his passengers.

The hero of this awful scene was a divinity student from the Methodist Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston. Strong and courageous, he braved the waves to swim out and rescue seventeen people before he fell exhausted. His appreciative Alma Mater has kept alive his valiant deed. In the lobby of the Northwestern University gymnasium, there is a memorial

ablet recording the valor of young Edward Spencer.

The casualties of the *Lady Elgin* were nearly all from Irish families in Milwaukee's Third Ward. Milwaukee has never forgotten this disaster. The memorial service, held each year to commemorate the date, at St. John's Cathedral, still attracts throngs. This typically Victorian poem, "Lost On The Lady Elgin," put to music by Henry C. Work, was a frequently-heard lyric in many a Midwestern homestead.

LOST ON THE LADY ELGIN

Up from the poor man's cottage,
Forth from the mansion's door,
Reaching across the waters,
Echoing 'long the shore;
Caught in the morning breezes,
Borne on the evening gale,
Cometh a voice of mourning—
A sad and solemn wail.

Chorus

Lost on the *Lady Elgin*,
Sleeping to wake no more;
Numbered with that three hundred
Who failed to reach the shore.

Oh! 'Tis the cry of children
Weeping for parents gone;
Children who slept at evening,
Orphans, awoke at dawn.
Sisters for brothers weeping,
Husbands for missing wives,
Such were the ties dissevered,
In those three hundred lives.

Staunch was the noble steamer,
Precious the freight she bore,
Gayly she loosed her cable,
A few short hours before.
Grandly she swept our harbor,
Joyfully rang the bell,
Little thought she ere morrow,
'Twould toll so sad a knell.

While passengers were shunning the steamboats after this accident, Captain Goodrich kept his vessels going, carrying freight. He junked the old *Ogontz*, and had a new hull built for her engines. This was the *Union*, a sturdy propeller. As the years went on, this practice of disposing of old hulls and saving good engines became a regular thing with Goodrich. At least eight of his subsequent ships would have old engines in them. Good engines were truly good in those days and were a rarity. Captain Goodrich frequently bought old ships just because his trained eye saw serviceable machinery in them.

The first of several reverses came in 1863 when the new *Sunbeam* was wrecked at Copper Harbor on Lake Superior. In the same year his fleet acquired the *Sea Bird*, a side-wheeler which had been built for Ward in 1859, and the smaller propeller *Lady Franklin*. Four years later Goodrich exchanged the *Lady Franklin* for the Ward-built side-wheeler *May Queen*.

Disaster again struck the line with the destruction by fire of the *Sea Bird* off the present city of Waukegan, with the loss of seventy-three lives. This was in 1868, only five years after the loss of the *Sunbeam*, when twenty-nine had perished. Undaunted by these setbacks, the young captain ventured forth again, and found good engines in the small *Michigan*, which had been built back in 1847; and in the ponderous Ward side-wheeler *Planet*, a 1200-ton hull built at Newport in 1855, with engines which had already served in three ships, the *Canada*, *Caspian*, and *E. K. Collins*. Meanwhile, at Manitowoc, G. S. Rand had bought the shipyards from Stephen and John Bates. In 1865 he launched the side-wheeler *Orion* with the *Michigan's* engines in her, and two years later came the mighty *Northwest*, justly considered the finest vessel on the lakes at the time. Her life of thirty-five years fully attests the excellence of her construction. In the Goodrich line she lasted only one brief year, but Detroiters should remember her long service out of their city.

On June 20, 1868, the Detroit and Cleveland Navigation Company had experienced its first loss, the sinking of the *Morning Star* in collision with the bark *Cortland* with the loss of twenty-six lives. This vessel and the *R. N. Rice* had been running on the regular Cleveland service. The need for a replacement was urgent and the Detroit officials made a hurried visit to Chicago, conferred with Captain Goodrich and returned with the *Northwest*. She ran for eighteen years between Chicago and Cleveland, first as a partner to the *Rice* and later with the *City of Detroit I*. At the end of the season of 1885, while the new *City of Cleveland* was nearing completion, the *Northwest* was sold to the Star Line and her name changed to *Greyhound*. She was rebuilt as a day excursion boat with new engines. She ran between Detroit and Toledo until the steel *Greyhound* joined that line in 1902. The connection between these two lines of two different lakes began with Goodrich's acquisition of the *May Queen*, which had sailed under the D. and C. Navigation Company, and continued, after the *Northwest* negotiations, into the twentieth century, when at various times the former D. and C. vessels, *State of New York*, *City of Alpena II*, and *City of Mackinac II* also sailed under Goodrich colors.

The *Ottawa*, built in 1854, joined the line in 1867 but was sold shortly afterward. Another acquisition was the Ward-built *Alpena*, purchased in 1868 when two years old. This vessel rendered good service for a dozen years, before her loss, with all on board, somewhere between Grand Haven and Chicago, on October 16, 1880.

The steamer *Alpena* left Muskegon and Grand Haven on October 15 for Chicago, with a passenger list and crew of about eighty. She encountered a severe storm and her fate has been forever shrouded in mystery. Several vessels reported sighting the steamer far off its course, but by October 20, debris from the ship was seen floating near the harbor of Hol-

land, Michigan. One of its lifeboats, a piano and some of the life preservers were found on the shore at Saugatuck.

Another vessel, the *St. Joseph*, was acquired by Captain Goodrich in 1869, with a view to using her engines, but they proved unsatisfactory and the vessel was sold four years later. Captain Goodrich seemed better satisfied, however, with the engines in the small propeller *Skylark*, which he bought in 1871, for he immediately contracted with Rand for a new hull for them. This was named the *Oconto*, of which we shall hear later. After the purchase of the *Skylark* in 1871, the Goodrich line built new vessels until the turn of the century.

Of the new craft, there were the large side-wheeler, *Manitowoc*, launched in 1868; *Sheboygan*, in 1869; *Corona*, in 1870; *Muskegon*, in 1871; and *Chicago*, in 1874. The *Manitowoc*, *Sheboygan*, and *Chicago* were practically sister ships of about 700 tons, and 220 feet in length. They carried two stacks crosswise. The *Muskegon* and *Corona* were slightly smaller and one-stackers. The *Manitowoc* did not navigate satisfactorily, so after five years she was dismantled. Her engines and cabin fittings were placed in the *Chicago* which was under construction then at the Manitowoc yards. The *Muskegon* was wrecked in drydock at Milwaukee in 1896; the *Corona* was destroyed by fire at Tonawanda, New York, in 1898; the *Sheboygan* was abandoned near Manitowoc in 1914, and the *Chicago* met the same fate in 1921.

As far back as 1872, Goodrich had foreseen the trend of the times away from side-wheel propulsion and began building some of his new ships with screw drive. The now famous wooden propellers of the Goodrich line were among the finest, safest, and most handsome ships on the lakes in their time. The experiment began with the purchase of the four-year-old *G. J. Truesdell* in 1868. This vessel was completely remodeled into a night boat and placed on the west-shore run with the propeller *Ottawa*. The trip was popular with pas-

sengers who found real comfort in the cabins and saloons of these now very little vessels. Before Captain Goodrich's time, few of the Lake Michigan ships had made such an outspoken bid for tourist trade. The venture was highly successful, and with the increasing demands the propellers *Oconto*, *Menominee*, and *Depere* were built by Rand at Manitowoc. The *Oconto*, with engines from the *Skylark*, measured 142 feet in length, while the *Depere* and *Menominee* were larger, being nearly two hundred feet long. The first two vessels operated between Chicago and Green Bay, making stops at Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, Port Washington, Manitowoc, Two Rivers, Kewaunee, Sturgeon Bay, Green Bay, Menominee, and Marinette. Occasional longer cruises were made to Escanaba, Manistique, and Mackinac Island. The *Menominee* operated at first on the newly established Goodrich route from Chicago to Grand Haven and Muskegon.

Another of the wooden propellers joined the fleet in 1880, coming also from the Manitowoc yards of Rand, and Henry Burger who had been taken into partnership there at this time. This was the *City of Ludington*, a palatial vessel, 200 feet in length, and registering 700 tons. She operated on another promising Goodrich venture, a line from Chicago and Milwaukee to Ludington and Frankfort. The Pere Marquette Railroad Company was completing its western terminal at what is now Ludington, and in the middle eighties, the Ann Arbor Railroad was pushing toward Frankfort. Both cities looked like good prospects for the enterprising and growing Goodrich Transportation Company.

Too much praise cannot be given the achievements of these early propellers and their later wooden successors. They pioneered a great trade and all left worthy records. The only short-lived one among them was the *Navarino*, completed by Rand in 1871. She was caught at her dock in the great Chicago fire of that year and completely destroyed. But again the un-

daunted Goodrich salvaged her engines and built the *Menominee* for them. The *Menominee* sailed until 1896.

These wooden propellers had initiated the year-around service which would be regular as long as the line was to operate. In 1881, as an aid to this winter service, Captain Goodrich had Rand and Burger build the powerful tug *Arctic*, expressly for breaking ice in harbors, and for rendering such assistance as the vessels might need. She served the line for forty-nine years, the longest record of any Goodrich vessel. The *Arctic* was built with heavy frames and heavy outside oak planking. She was heavily ironed from stem to stern and for several feet back of her stern was built of solid oak so that the ice could not stave her in. It was claimed that she could make her way through ice eighteen inches thick. She was kept under steam all winter and near the mouth of the Milwaukee harbor so that at a moment's notice she could go to the assistance of any of the company's boats.

In addition to the *Arctic*, the Goodrich line expanded its fleet extensively. For the first time iron hulls carried red stacks and the white Goodrich house flag. The Manitowoc yards of Rand and Burger had no facilities for building anything but wooden ships, so Goodrich asked bids from shipbuilders east of Lake Michigan, for an iron side-wheeler, and two iron propellers for winter freight service. The contract for all three vessels was awarded to the Detroit Dry Dock Company. In the spring of 1881, the mighty *City of Milwaukee* slid down the ways at Wyandotte, to become the cynosure of all eyes, and the queen of the lakes. Propelled by a Fletcher beam engine, her hull measured 245 feet in length by forty-two in beam over the guards. She was of iron construction to the main deck, and carried cabins on her gallery deck, one of the first on the lakes. Her interior fittings were gorgeous beyond description. She went into service between Chicago, Milwaukee, and the west Michigan ports.

From the same Wyandotte yard came the two propellers, *Wisconsin* and *Michigan*, sister ships, measuring 220 by 40 feet. They were intended for service from Milwaukee to Grand Haven and Ludington and were capable of carrying two thousand tons of merchandise and about fifty passengers.

The *Wisconsin* and *Michigan* were among the finest propellers on the lakes. They were built at Detroit at a cost of about \$350,000 each. Constructed of iron and designed for year-round navigation, their build forward was such that their bows could run for some distance on top of ice. The crushing weight of the bow enabled them to navigate through ice several inches thick without any difficulty.

From 1876, when the Flint & Pere Marquette Railroad Company established its railhead at Ludington, until 1882, all its freight was routed across Lake Michigan on the Goodrich boats. It was for this trade that Captain Goodrich had built first the *City of Ludington*, and then the *Wisconsin* and *Michigan*. All went well until the railroad decided to build vessels of its own. The first two railroad vessels, the *F. & P. M. 1* and *F. & P. M. 2*, arrived at Ludington in 1882 and business was slowly taken away from Goodrich. Late in 1883 the Milwaukee to Michigan line had to be abandoned. This had been a lucrative route, into which all the company's capital had been placed, and now it was lost long before its investment could be returned. Captain Goodrich was forced to sell his finest craft to meet his debts. So the three new iron steamers, *Wisconsin*, *Michigan*, and *Milwaukee* were sold to the Detroit, Grand Haven and Milwaukee Road, and the *Ludington* was transferred to the Green Bay service.

The life story of the *Michigan* ended in 1885 when she sank off Grand Haven in the ice. The stories of the other two would each make adequate material for an evening's reading, hence we can but sketch them here. The *Wisconsin* remained with the railroad until the middle nineties, operating contin-

uously from Milwaukee to Grand Haven, when that feeder route was taken over by Edward G. Crosby of Milwaukee. Crosby started his service with the *Wisconsin*, which he renamed *Naomi*, after his daughter, I believe, and the former Erie package freighter *Nyack*. Mr. Crosby lost his life on the *Titanic* in 1912, and at that time the *Naomi* was renamed *E. G. Crosby*. She was taken to the Atlantic in 1917 and sailed for the Shipping Board as the *General Robert O'Reilly*. Back on the lakes in 1919, she was again the *E. G. Crosby* until 1921, when she became the *Pilgrim*, operating in Barry's Chicago, Racine and Milwaukee Line. Goodrich bought out this line in 1923, and the *Pilgrim* was given her original name of *Wisconsin*. She sank in a storm in 1929.

The *City of Milwaukee* operated for the same railroad from her purchase in 1884 until the late nineties when she was sold to the Graham and Morton line of Chicago. About 1900 they renamed her *Holland*, in honor of one of their chief ports of call. She had several accidents with Graham and Morton and began to be looked upon with fear by travelers. However, during the summer of 1915, she was leased by the Goodrich line as a replacement for the *Iowa* which had been lost in the ice early that year. Only her stacks were repainted red, her hull remaining the traditional green of the owners. In 1916, Graham and Morton sold her to Crosby, who ran her from Milwaukee to Muskegon, and renamed her *Muskegon*. In 1919, only a few months before her end. This came on the stormy night of October 28, in that year, when she piled up on the pierheads at Muskegon and was smashed to pieces. Twenty-one lives were lost.

Only six weeks before the accident I (then a little boy) had had my first thrill of a steamboat trip—across from Milwaukee on the *Muskegon*. It was a beautiful day and the lake was calm and clear. I can still remember overhearing people on deck talking about her as the old *Holland*, the unlucky

ship. Even more vivid is my memory of her worn engines pounding hard as she went along.

Captain Goodrich died in 1885, leaving the administration of the firm in the experienced hands of his son, A. W. Goodrich. Despite the losses incurred in the early eighties on the Ludington run, the other two main Goodrich routes, the one up along the Wisconsin shore to the Straits of Mackinac, and the other from Chicago to Grand Haven and Muskegon, had continued to earn well. Whatever debts were still outstanding at the time of the founder's passing had been removed by 1889, and plans were set afoot by young Goodrich to replace many of the older vessels. The fleet now included the *Depere*, *Menominee*, *Sheboygan*, *Corona*, *Chicago*, *Muskegon*, and *City of Ludington*, while the *Oconto* had just been sold. These vessels had established a solid clientele, and despite their age were still popular. Goodrich standards of service had been high, and had paid off well.

For example, a lady of Racine who desired to visit relatives in Menominee had, on being promised by a steamboat ticket agency that the vessel on the return trip would make a stop at Racine, bought a round-trip ticket via the Goodrich boat. After her visit in Menominee, she boarded the down-bound *Oconto* for the return trip; the vessel stopped at several way ports as was the custom. Toward evening, the *Oconto* cleared Milwaukee and headed south again, and a couple of hours later should have been near Racine. But the ship did not slow down, as Racine was not on the schedule this trip. The lady became panic-stricken at the thought of being carried to Chicago, where she knew no one, and protested to the purser. Seeing that she had been misled by the man who had sold her the ticket, the purser rushed at once to the captain, and before he had returned to assure the lady, the vessel had reversed its course and was heading for Racine, just to fulfill the contract. What the captain said to the ticket agent as the *Oconto*

nosed into the Racine dock scarcely bears repetition. But this sincere consideration for the welfare of passengers was typical, and the reason why Goodrich service had won public confidence.

When the Goodrich line ordered its first new vessel in 1889, the company ran true to form and sought the finest. The Manitowoc yards, now operated by Henry and George Burger, were again the builders and their product was the propeller, *City of Racine*, a wooden vessel, 230 feet long, with superb accommodations for 250 passengers. Racine declared a public holiday when she arrived, and the citizens presented the ship with a beautiful flag. She operated from Chicago to Milwaukee on night runs for thirty years. Her sister ship arrived from Manitowoc a year later, and was named the *Indiana*. This vessel served the line for forty years, commanded first by Captain Edward Taylor, and later by Captain Joseph Carrigan. The contract for the *Atlanta*, the third sister ship, went to the Cleveland Drydock Company, who delivered her in 1891. Under the command of the popular Captain Cornelius McCauley, she served on both Goodrich routes until her loss in 1906. A fourth wooden propeller similar in size and appointments was completed at Manitowoc in 1896 and named the *Iowa*, and under the command first of Captain Edward Carus, and later of Captain John Raleigh, served for twenty years, until 1915. Captain Carus had a long career with Goodrich, being commander at various times of the *Corona*, *Muskegon*, *Sheboygan*, *Chicago*, *Depere*, *Atlanta*, *Iowa*, *City of Ludington*, *City of Racine*, and *Indiana*. I believe he is still living at Manitowoc. In 1898, the *City of Ludington* was rebuilt, lengthened, and renamed *Georgia*. She now resembled the other new wooden ships just described.

With the completion of the *Indiana* in 1890, the Goodrich vessels were painted with all-black hulls, instead of black only to the main deck and white above. All the newer vessels

carried steel pole masts, but kept the gaff boom. This was a characteristic of Goodrich vessels to the end. The Goodrich flag, a white double-pointed pennant with the red letters "G. T. Co." always flew from the gaff of the foremast. From the early days, lake vessels were equipped with steam whistles, and the Goodrich vessels all had major-chimed whistles of a most pleasant note. The only other fleet which used them on all its vessels was the New York Central Railroad Company's line of package freighters, the Western Transit Company. The only present-day vessels with this whistle, of which I know, are the *North American* and *South American*, and the tugs at Milwaukee harbor.

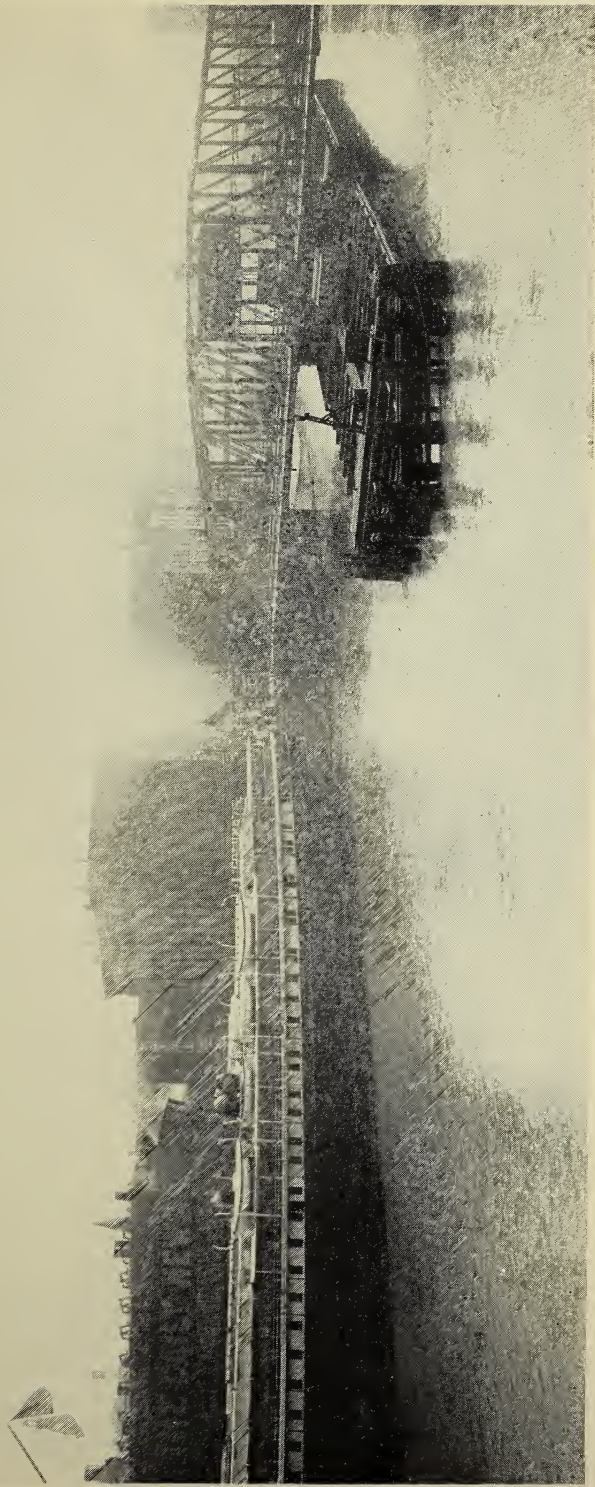
The first ship of the modern Goodrich fleet was the steel twin-screw express liner *Virginia*. The contract for this vessel was awarded in 1891 to the Globe Shipbuilding Company of Cleveland. The hull of the *Virginia*, measuring 285 by 38 feet, was a slightly smaller adaptation of the speedy and extremely attractive package freighters of the Lehigh Valley Transportation Company, vessels like the *Cayuga*, *Seneca*, and *Saranac*. The *Virginia* carried one stack almost amidships and two masts. Her trial speed was close to twenty knots, and her regular cruising speed about sixteen. She was placed on the Chicago to Milwaukee run, making the trip up in the morning, and returning to Chicago as a night boat. Fare for the round trip was \$2.50 including dinner on the way to Milwaukee. Her broad decks and modern, roomy cabins, plus the fact that she proved to be a fine rough-weather boat, created a sensation. Samuel Ward Stanton, the famous illustrator of ships, includes an accurate engraving of her in his now priceless *American Steam Vessels*. An adaptation of Stanton's cut of her appeared for years on the label of many cans of tomatoes, peas, and fruit, packed by the Lakeside Packing Company of Manitowoc.

The *Virginia's* popularity on the Milwaukee day-run soon

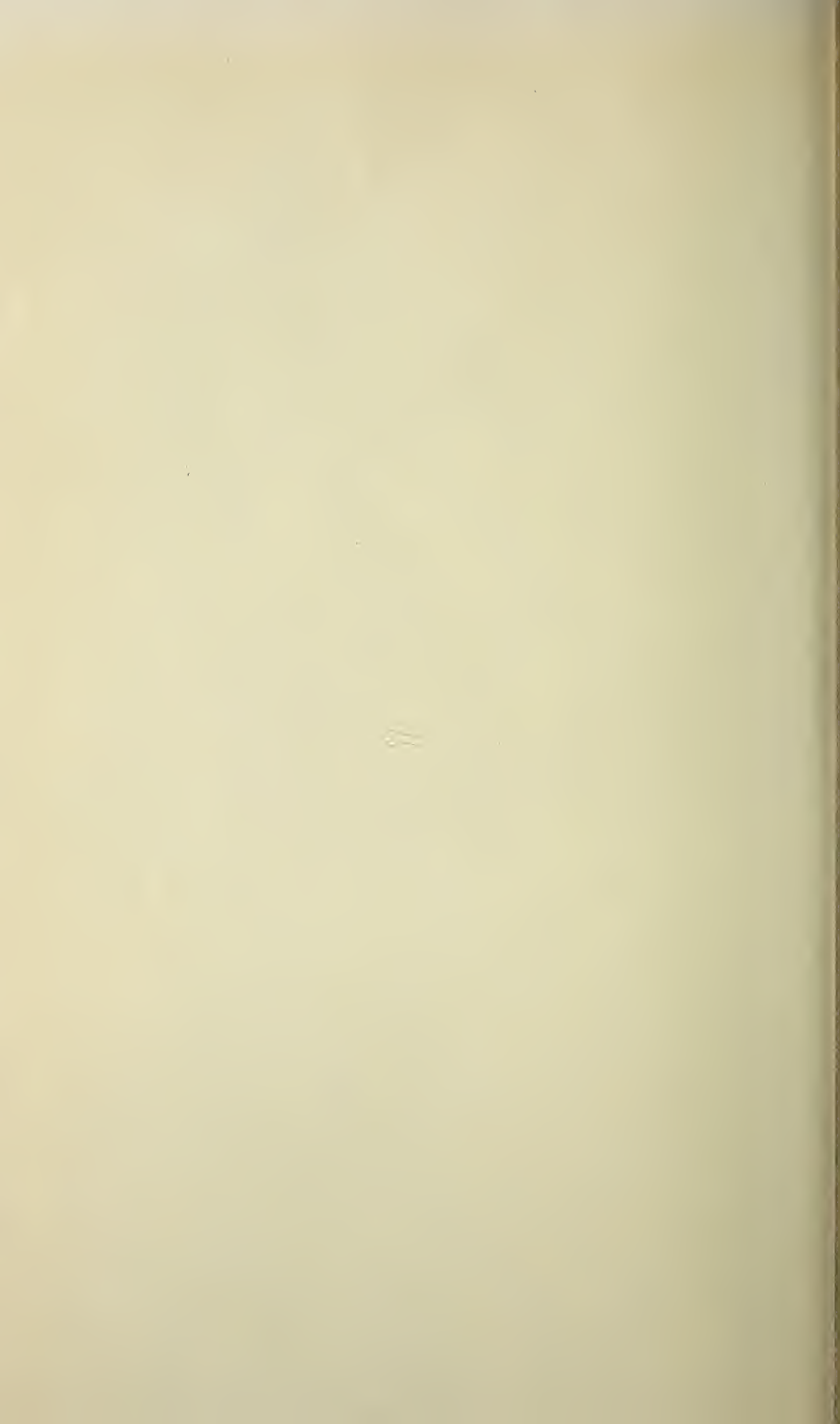
drew competitors to the field. Chief among them was the great whaleback passenger ferry *Christopher Columbus*, built to carry people from downtown Chicago to the World's Columbian Exposition grounds at Jackson Park on the South Side. The *Christopher Columbus* was placed on a daily, round-trip schedule between the two cities, and to meet this competition the *Virginia* was placed on an identical timing. The trip up and back was always a race between these powerful giants. In fair weather the *Columbus* was slightly better, but in heavy weather the *Virginia* always excelled. On one of these races a boiler on the *Virginia* exploded, killing several of the crew, and causing near panic on board.

In 1898 this competition ended when Goodrich bought the *Columbus*. The whaleback continued on her daily round trip and the *Virginia* now reverted to her day and night schedule. The *Christopher Columbus* was built at West Superior, Wisconsin, by the American Steel Barge Company, which was the incorporated name of Alexander McDougall's great enterprise. She was the only whaleback passenger vessel. She was 360 feet long by 42 in width. Her hull was very similar to those of the whaleback freighters, differing only in the position of her engines amidships, and in her superstructure. This consisted of two, later three decks, supported on seven steel turrets. She had a single trip capacity of four thousand passengers. During her almost uninterrupted career of thirty-eight years (1893 through 1931), she is estimated to have carried more people than any vessel ever constructed. Only one accident caused loss of life aboard her.

The Goodrich service continued unchanged during the early years of the twentieth century. Nine steamers and the tug, *Arctic* composed the fleet. The *Christopher Columbus* was the day boat, and the *Virginia* and the *City of Racine* the night boats, to Milwaukee. The *Iowa* and *Indiana* carried the cross-lake trade to Muskegon. The *Atlanta*, *Chicago*, and *Sheboygan*



STEAMSHIP *Virginia* AT GOODRICH DOCKS AND RUSH STREET BRIDGE IN CHICAGO.



made four trips weekly between Chicago and Green Bay ports, while the *Georgia* made the week's cruise to Mackinac Island stopping at all important west shore communities. The *Georgia's* arrivals and departures from Mackinac Island were synchronized to meet the sailings of the Northern Navigation Company's propellers *Majestic*, *City of Midland*, and *Germanic*, where connections could be made for a two weeks' continuous cruise, Chicago to Collingwood and return. All the western Lake Michigan ports and all the important cities along the North Channel of Georgian Bay were visited and the total excursion fare came to only \$43.

While bound from Green Bay to Chicago on March 18, 1906, fire was discovered aboard the *Atlanta*, a few miles off Port Washington, Wisconsin. It was a clear morning and her light was seen by the crew of the fishing tug, *Tessler*, a short distance away.

The tugmen were lifting a five-mile setline when they noticed the liner come to a halt. The crew realized that there was trouble aboard but did not discover that the steamer was burning until they got close in. The flames were on the far side of the ship. The tug had difficulty getting close enough to make a rescue but finally lashed alongside the burning ship and got three lines up to the hurricane deck where the passengers were huddled together. Some jumped but most of the people slid down these lines. Among those rescued were two women. It was most difficult to get Captain McCauley to leave the ship. After all had been rescued he insisted on going back to make sure no one had been left on board. But finally he was persuaded to leave. Soon the steamer *Georgia* came along and the shipwrecked passengers were transferred to it.

It was fortunate that the fishermen were successful in persuading Captain McCauley to leave the ship. Goodrich patrons sailed under his capable leadership for another quarter of a century. One of the crew of the tug was Earl Godersky, a

Port Washington fisherman. Twenty-three years later Goder sky was commander of his own tug, the *Delos H. Smith*. On foggy morning in October, 1929, her crew heard distress signals out in the lake. They hastened in the direction of the whistles and arrived just in time to see the freighter, *Senator* keeling over and sinking, and another freighter with an immense gash in her bow. This was the Cleveland Cliffs ore carrier, *Marquette*, which had rammed the *Senator*. The *Senator* was making her first trip after conversion into an automobile carrier. Eight of the sunken vessel's crew perished, sixteen were saved by the fishermen, and a few more managed to jump on board the *Marquette* before the vessels parted.

To replace the *Atlanta*, the Goodrich line purchased the steel steamer *Charles H. Hackley* from Captain Miles Barry of Chicago. This twin-screw steamer, 245 feet long, had been built in 1892 at Philadelphia for the coastwise trade, and had come to the Great Lakes after the Spanish-American War. She was renamed *Carolina* and in 1907 began sailing on the shore line route under the command of Captain McCauley. She sailed in the line until the end, and was finally cut down to barge in 1938.

In 1910 the new *Alabama* joined the fleet. She was built by the Manitowoc Shipbuilding Company, of dimensions 27 by 45 feet. She had the most modern comforts for night travel as well as cargo space for nearly three thousand tons. Her hull was extra heavily plated for winter service. She was originally intended to be about a hundred feet longer, and early picture and the big model of her which was exhibited for many years at the Goodrich city ticket office in downtown Chicago showed her to be a very beautiful ship. As she actually was, her great height and width made her look stubby and clumsy especially when viewed alongside the low-lying and rakish *Virginia*. Actually she was ten feet shorter than the *Virginia*, but unless one looked directly across the two ships close together, the

Alabama appeared much the larger vessel. She was placed on the Muskegon line.

In 1912 the *City of Racine* was rebuilt and renamed *Arizona*. In February, 1915, the *Iowa* was crushed by ice off Chicago and had to be abandoned. She sank, but without casualty; all the crew walked ashore over the ice. The Goodrich line chartered the *Holland* from the Graham and Morton line to replace her until the arrival in midsummer of the company's newest unit, the *Nevada*. The *Nevada* was a single crew, package freighter, built at Manitowoc and intended especially for winter service. Her dimensions were 220 by 42 feet. Her hull was extra stiff and her plating very heavy. She was, I believe, the first vessel built on the lakes with the cruiser stern, antedating by almost twenty years the extensive use of that design in ocean steamers. She operated on regular schedule during the winter of 1915-16. Her big chance to prove her ice-crushing ability came in the spring of 1916 when the first freighters had been caught in a bad ice jam in Whitefish Bay. She sailed from Manitowoc late in April, opened the Straits of Mackinac and the lower St. Mary's River, passed through the locks and smashed her way across the extent of Whitefish Bay in the matter of a few hours. This achievement caused no little comment in shipping circles. A few weeks later Goodrich officials were approached by representatives of the Imperial Russian Government, who wanted to buy the *Nevada* and use her as an icebreaker at Vladivostok. The sale was negotiated and she left the lakes in 1917. She never arrived in Russia due to the overthrow of the czar by the Bolsheviks. Before long, our own country was in World War I and the *Nevada* was drafted for duty. The *Virginia* also was taken by the Shipping Board, along with many other Great Lakes craft.

On July 24, 1915, the *Eastland* disaster occurred at Chicago. More than 800 lives were lost here. After this catas-

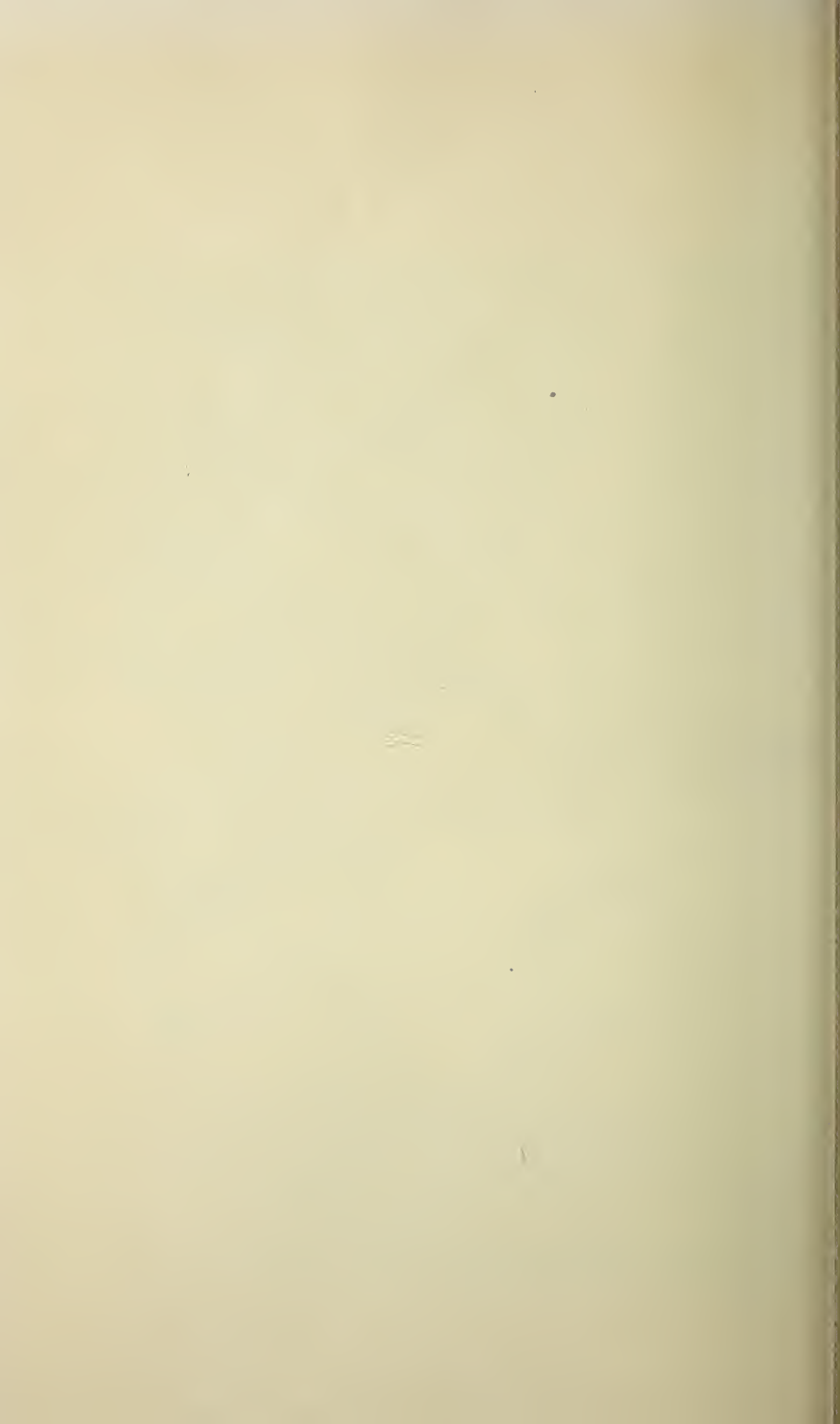
trophe people shunned the lake ships as they never had before. The *Eastland* had been built in 1903 for service across Lake Michigan, and despite her speed and trim appearance, she had acquired the reputation for being a treacherous boat. She was taken away from Chicago for some years and operated on Lake Erie between Cleveland and Cedar Point, but again people came to look upon the ship with fear. She had been back on her old run from Chicago to St. Joseph only part of a season when, along with three other steamers, she was chartered for the annual outing of the employees of the Western Electric Company. The *Eastland* was to have left at 7:30 A.M. The other steamers were to follow at half-hour intervals. At about 7:10 the *Eastland* listed, then righted herself, then began to list again, and slowly turned over at 7:20, trapping many of her 2,500 passengers beneath her hulk.

For weeks and months after this, not a soul in Chicago would as much as cross the gangplank on any vessel. The ships lay at their docks empty. People thought none of them safe, and all sorts of accusations and rumors circulated about the faults of this ship or that. Much criticism was leveled at the Goodrich steamer *Christopher Columbus*, whose unusual appearance led many of the uninformed to believe she couldn't be a safe vessel. Her owners finally determined to give her a unique trial. They loaded the decks of the great whaleback with five hundred tons of sandbags, and got all the people they could persuade to come aboard. Loaded with her sandbags and her motley crowd of the curious and the brave, she steamed out into Chicago's harbor, accompanied by tugs and coast guard craft. At a given signal, her load of sand was moved to the extreme right side of the ship, and all the people crowded the rails on that side. With this great off-center load she tipped only a few degrees off vertical. And then with much tooting of whistles she cruised about the harbor for all to see her. Having proved herself a safe boat, she



Eastland Disaster, CHICAGO, JULY 24, 1915

Courtesy Chicago Daily News



left on her usual excursion to Milwaukee a few days later with a capacity crowd.

By an ironical turn of fate, one of the strangest accidents in the lakes' annals befell the *Christopher Columbus* at Milwaukee on June 30, 1917. The big ship had arrived on its customary daily run from Chicago early in the afternoon. Two hours later, at about four o'clock, tugs backed the vessel down the river to the harbor where she would be turned around and started back to Chicago.

As the vessel was being swung slowly around, the long, overhanging "pig snoot" of the whaleback came very close to one side of the river, and finally reached in over the dock. Evidently the tugboatmen didn't realize they had misjudged the distance, for they kept turning the vessel. The snoot collided with two of the four supporting legs of a huge water tank, located behind the warehouse of the Yahr and Lange Drug Company. The massive bow cut the two uprights clean, and the tank crashed down from a height of several stories on the upper decks of the vessel, crushing two of them, and finally landing on the turret top above the main deck. Sixteen people were killed, including several officers on the bridge, and scores were painfully injured. The vessel itself was not seriously damaged, and a new superstructure was built forward and the vessel resumed her regular excursion trips within a month.

During World War I, the Goodrich line continued its services although the fleet was somewhat reduced. With the *Virginia*, *Nevada*, and *Iowa* gone and the *Sheboygan* and *Chicago* retired from active duty, there remained only the *Columbus*, *Alabama*, *Carolina*, *Indiana*, *Arizona*, and *Georgia*. After the war, lake travel began to decline. Fast service by train and cheap automobiles made great inroads on passenger ship lines.

In 1918 the iron side-wheeler *State of New York* was

bought from the Detroit and Cleveland line and renamed *Florida*. She ran on the Michigan City day excursion for a year or two, and was then leased out. During the winter of 1919-20 the *Alabama* was badly damaged when she ran aground on the abandoned base of an intake station off Belmont Avenue, four miles north of the Chicago harbor. While she was being repaired, the line chartered the large steel steamer *Missouri* of the Michigan Transit Company, a well known Lake Michigan line.

In 1922, the Goodrich company bought out its competitor the Chicago, Racine and Milwaukee Line, the successor to the Barry outfit. In this transaction two old vessels were acquired the *Illinois*, a heavy steel ship, built in 1899, 240 feet long, and sister ship of the *Missouri*, and the iron *Pilgrim* which had been built for Goodrich in 1881 as the *Wisconsin*. She was renamed *Wisconsin* shortly afterward. These vessels were kept on the intercity line, replacing the *Indiana* which alone had carried on for Goodrich since the war.

During all these years the Goodrich vessels had been coming and going from their old docks at Chicago. The old Rush Street swing bridge had been replaced by the new Michigan Boulevard bridge, and this had placed the docks close to the main north-south traffic artery of the city. In 1925 the city fathers completed plans for the new Wacker Drive, which was to run along the south side of the river westward from Michigan Boulevard for about a mile and then south along the south branch of the river to Madison Street. This did not affect Goodrich, whose docks were east of the boulevard, but it did affect nearly all the lines with upriver docks. In anticipation, many of these had moved their terminals to the new Municipal Pier in the outer harbor some years before the Wacker Drive project became a reality. When the final condemnation processes began there was only one passenger line in the route of the new projects, Graham and Morton. To ge

new dock facilities, this line merged with Goodrich in 1925.

We cannot enter into a lengthy description of the Graham and Morton line, but a brief history will be worth while. In the middle seventies, Captain John H. Graham of St. Joseph, Michigan, scented the trend of the times, and believed that a fast steamer line between the orchard lands of lower Michigan and the markets of Chicago would be a money-maker. With J. Stanley Morton, and others engaged in the steamboat business, the Graham and Morton line was formed with John H. Graham, president. It was known to three generations of Chicagoans as the "dustless way to happy land."

The Graham and Morton line owned five vessels and one tug at the time of the merger with Goodrich: *City of Benton Harbor*, steel side-wheeler, 250 feet long, built by the Craig Shipbuilding Company at Toledo in 1905; *City of Grand Rapids*, steel single screw, 315 feet long, built by the American Shipbuilding Company at Cleveland in 1912; *City of Holland*, steel side-wheeler, 285 feet long, built by the Detroit Dry Dock Company at Wyandotte in 1892 (originally named *City of Mackinac II*); *City of St. Joseph*, steel side-wheeler, 260 feet long, built by Wheeler at Bay City in 1890 (originally named *City of Chicago*); *City of Saugatuck*, steel side-wheeler, 285 feet long, built by the Detroit Dry Dock Company at Wyandotte in 1892 (originally named *City of Alpena II*); *Bob Stevenson*, wooden tug, built in 1872 at Buffalo.

Besides the ships just described the merger brought into the Goodrich fleet many well-known Lake Michigan captains who were commanders of the Graham and Morton ships. Captains Albert Simons and Oscar Bjork had been with the line more than twenty years, while Captains McDonald, Mackey, and Morgan were younger men.

In 1926 the Goodrich line moved its Chicago docks from the original site to the Municipal Pier, keeping the old wharf for freight loading and for servicing vessels.

Late in 1926 the line bought the steel propeller *Theodore Roosevelt*, which had operated out of Chicago for the Indiana Transportation Company, from the year it was built, 1905, until the first World War. The vessel was a very fast one, with large passenger capacity. It was thoroughly reconstructed at Manitowoc during the winter of 1926-27, and in the spring was placed on the Chicago to South Haven run. There was some hard feeling caused by the entrance of the Goodrich line into this area, which had been served for forty years by the Chicago and South Haven Steamship Company and its predecessor, the Dunkley, Williams Company. At the moment this line had only the small excursion steamer, *Iroquois*, and the wooden freighter, *Petoskey*, in service, and whatever trade they had won by the larger and faster *Roosevelt*. The South Haven line went out of business within a year, and the *Iroquois* was sold to Seattle operators, who still run her. The *Petoskey* was sold to the West Ports line of Milwaukee.

The West Ports Navigation Company had been operating small wooden steamers, converted ocean-going tugs, on light freight service between Chicago and all way stops to Milwaukee. Its vessels were the *Kenosha*, *Sheboygan*, and *Waukegan*, sister ships built in 1919, and the *Petoskey*, a veteran dating back to 1888. In 1929, these four ships were added to the Goodrich line. In the same year, the steel packer *Bainbridge* was purchased outright from the defunct Benton Transit Company. Though small, this was a new ship, having been built at Boothbay, Maine, in 1922.

The *Indiana* and *St. Joseph* were laid up in 1929 and never saw active service again. In late October of that year the *Wisconsin*, while making her regular night run to Milwaukee, was caught in a storm off Kenosha, Wisconsin. Her cargo shifted. She began rolling badly and taking water. The storm increased in violence at dawn. The old ship's condition became critical, an SOS was sent out. Coast guard crews pu

out from both Racine and Kenosha, but waves kept their small craft from approaching the big ship. The Goodrich steamer *Illinois*, downbound, stood docked at Racine, her usual midnight stop, prepared to leave. Also at Racine was the big tug *Butterfield*, where she had put in with a barge on account of the storm. This tug attempted to turn the *Illinois* around in the narrow Root River. But the *Butterfield* was not a harbor tug. She was too big and clumsy for towing at close quarters. Through someone's misjudgment, the *Illinois'* stern rammed the dock and her rudder was damaged, so that she could not go out to help the foundering *Wisconsin*. The only other vessel in the vicinity was the car ferry *Pere Marquette 21*. She was approaching Milwaukee from the north, about forty miles from the *Wisconsin*, and wirelessly that she would come to the rescue in two and one-half hours. But before any help arrived, the *Wisconsin* capsized at about 7:30 A.M. The coast guardmen rescued some of the crew and passengers, but twelve, including Captain Douglas Morrison, lost their lives. Thus ended the long career of the *Wisconsin*.

In 1931 the great depression caused the Goodrich line to file a petition in bankruptcy. Receivers operated the ships for a year or two, but by 1933 all services had been suspended. The vessels were offered for sale. Other ship lines suffered also and the decline of the passenger trade on the Great Lakes has been very sharp. The passing of so many famous ships has been looked upon with wistful regret by travelers and ship lovers alike. In the figurative language of the poet, decline is often symbolized by the setting sun. And thus, in the declining of the day of the Great Lakes passenger ship, our thoughts are carried back to the great fleets that are no more. Thinking of the ships of Lake Michigan, reminiscing in the past, we see sailing by before us again the many colorful ships of the Goodrich line—red stacks in the sunset.

A CENTURY AGO IN SALINE COUNTY

BY SCERIAL THOMPSON

IT was two years before the great gold rush started across the continent to California—the year 1847. The Mexican War was being carried on, and General Zachary Taylor was in Mexico at the head of an army. Two days following the Battle of Buena Vista, on February 23, 1847, the General Assembly of Illinois passed an act creating Saline County by separating the west eighteen miles from Gallatin County. It was the last county to be erected in that part of Illinois known as Egypt. A vote of the people in the new county selected a village site now called Raleigh, as the first seat of county government and the final organization took place on December 10, 1847.

Andrew Jackson had been dead two short years. James K. Polk was president of the United States and Sam Houston was one of the senators from the newly-admitted state of Texas. That year saw Stephen A. Douglas succeed James Semple as a United States senator from Illinois, and Joseph Medill had not yet purchased the *Chicago Tribune*. That year found the gangling Abe Lincoln, a freshman congressman, wending his initial way with his family to Washington where he opposed the Mexican War.

The little-remembered Augustus C. French was governor of Illinois, and Sidney Breese, better known as a famous jurist, was the senior senator from Illinois. That year in Illinois saw a convention gather to form a new state constitution.

In 1847 John A. Logan was a lieutenant in the Mexican War and two years later elected county clerk in Jackson

County. Colorful figures of Egypt like Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll and his brother, Ebon, Judge Willis Allen, and his son William Joshua, Andrew J. Kuykendall, lawyer and legislator, and General Green B. Raum, had not yet appeared forcefully on the political scene. The Massac-Pope County battles between the "Regulators" and the "Flat-heads" were beginning, and settlers from Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas were coming into Egypt in a steady stream.

The Gallatin salines formed a substantial part of the commercial life of Egypt and the newly-created Saline County. Except for the Eagle Mountains in the south part, the county was principally forests and cypress swamps.

The settlements in Saline County existing in 1847 were enlargements of the initial entries which began in 1814. One was near Eagle Mountain in the southeast part of the county, and the first farm had been entered by Hankerson Rude who also constructed there a blockhouse. Another was near the present Carrier Mills, where a blockhouse had been built by Hampton Pankey. Near the present site of Eldorado a man named Brown constructed a blockhouse, and there was another community in the west part of the county. Settlers other than in these centers were few and far between.

There were several gristmills at the time. One was near Somerset, one near Raleigh, and another near Stonefort. The main road from Shawneetown to Kaskaskia passed through the north side of the county by the Brown blockhouse. This, for many years prior to 1847, also had been a mail route.

Raleigh was not platted until 1847 when it was selected as the county seat. Harrisburg was not platted for ten years after the formation of the county.

The remaining Piankashaw and Shawnee Indians had been moved to the Southwest, and only an occasional Indian was seen in the county by 1847 although once in a while a wandering red man would be caught marauding. All but the

stragglers, however, had forsaken the area which never had been other than a temporary camping and hunting ground.

Fifteen years before the formation of the county, a Baptist church had been organized at Liberty, a few miles southwest of the present site of Harrisburg. Most of the pioneers were either Baptists or Methodists. The early settlers were entirely too poor to establish and maintain churches and depended for their religious exercises upon itinerant preachers, whom they paid with gifts. This state of affairs lasted for many years, and as late as 1860 we find the following news item in the old *Harrisburg Chronicle*, dated March 29, 1860:

DONATION PARTY

On Thursday morning last, at eight and a half o'clock, A.M., I left Harrisburg for Raleigh, and at 11 o'clock we arrived in the vicinity, stopping at the house of J. S. Cotton, Esq. We were met by many smiling faces, and after spending some three hours in pleasant conversation upon the different topics of the day, and singing several beautiful songs of Zion, at two o'clock we were invited to a table laden with the luxuries of the land, gotten up in the best style, just as how the good sisters know how to do these things. After having partaken of a rich dinner, we repaired to the parlor, and engaged in a prayer to Almighty God for the blessings of life and for christian friends. At candle lighting we met again and tried to improve the occasion from 2nd Samuel, 6, and 11th, after which we dispersed, refreshed soul and body. The next morning found us in possession of a replenished money purse and many needful articles for the comfort of our family. Thank God for good christian friends: surely the Lord will bless such people. They have our warmest thanks.

T. N. JOHNSON

Schools were supported privately. The terms were twenty to forty days. The regular charge was \$2.50, but widows could send their children for half price. The school benches were made of trees one foot thick, split open in the middle and shaved smooth with a drawing knife. They were placed one tier deep around the walls of the one-room log house.

In 1847 very few people lived in Saline County and life was simple. Although the settlers lived many miles apart, in

most instances, they tried to keep fairly continuous contact with each other in order to answer calls of need. Arms consisted of long-barreled, flintlock rifles. The menfolks gathered to drill, or to "muster" as they called it, on Sundays and holidays in order to be better prepared for defense.

Not only did these "musters" aid in furthering protective measures but they were utilized as recreational meetings and gatherings to exchange the news and gossip of the day. After drill was completed, rough and vigorous wrestling matches were held. At times these were more appropriately called fighting matches, and there was little time for the weaklings. While the life was simple, it was rigorous and hardy.

The territory in the new county was densely wooded and remained so for many years. One of the first chores of the pioneer farmer was to clear sufficient timber to make a place for patches of cultivation. There were many different varieties of native timber among which were gum, poplar, hickory, walnut, elm, sassafras, ash, plum, maple, mulberry, cherry, locust, persimmon, dogwood, birch, sycamore, and red, and white oak. The low land and swamps held an abundance of cypress, and there was some native cedar on the hills in the south part of the county.

Although the removal of timber was a difficult task for the pioneers, its presence was one of the attractions that brought about the settlement of Egypt before other parts of the territory later to be made into the state of Illinois. This timber was indispensable as building material. It furnished the logs for homes of simple construction. W. S. Blackman, in *The Boy of Battle Ford*, from personal recollection, described a pioneer cabin as follows:

A pen was built of logs sixteen or eighteen feet each way and seven or eight feet high. The sides of the logs were sometimes scalped off. The house was covered with boards four feet long and very wide, placed on rib poles and held in place with weight poles, as there were no nails to be had. One door was cut in the side of the house and sometimes one

was cut in each side of it. The shutter was made of thin, long, split boards shaved with a drawing knife and hung on wooden hinges. If there was any ceiling overhead it was of split boards or rough sawed plank. The floors were of thick split puncheons, six feet long, with spaces between them often an inch wide. The fire-place was a hole sawed out of the end of the pen, of large dimensions, and a wooden pen outside raised to the top of the house and a jamb of dirt or rock built inside it as a casing between the fire and the wood. The hearth was either of rock or dirt, and extended nearly three feet inside the house from the fire-place.

Each pioneer cleared a field of four or five acres around his cabin. The large trees were killed by cutting the bark around them. Bushes and saplings were taken out. The field, or clearing, was enclosed by a fence four or five feet high made of ten-foot rails from trees along the fence row. Sometimes a fence was made simply by felling trees in a line. The trunks and tops made an impassable barrier.

In a field fenced in this manner, the settler would grow corn, potatoes, pumpkins, beans, peas, cabbage, and cucumbers. There was no wheat, rye, or oats produced in the county when it was first formed. A small field of cotton invariably was grown to supply clothing for the family, but cotton never developed into an important crop. As most of the settlers had migrated from Southern states, they always had a patch of tobacco. This tobacco growing became a great industry, and, in the latter part of the century, large tobacco barns dotted the county. Gradually, however, the land devoted to tobacco became so depleted that it could no longer profitably be used for that purpose.

Each settler raised a few hogs which he fed just enough to keep them from going wild. However, there were many wild hogs running loose in the forest. Each new farmer kept a few sheep mainly for the wool to be used for clothing, but the many wolves in the county made sheep raising a precarious business.

Wild game was plentiful and furnished a major part of

the family food. The woods abounded in deer and squirrels. Native quail were everywhere, and wild turkeys were available at all times, even to the extent of being caught and domesticated in some instances. Bear still frequented the region, wolves ranged freely, and the streams were well supplied with fish. It is no wonder that the area had been a favorite hunting and fishing ground for the Indian tribes. Life there was not too difficult in 1847.

Farming equipment was unknown. For many years wooden sleds were used for hauling purposes. Primitive wagons were made with wheels sawed from black gum logs. Roads were few and far between and bridges did not exist. The avenues of travel were trails, not well marked and having little care given to their upkeep.

Metal stoves and matches were unknown when the county was formed. In wintertime, fires were kept going on the hearths, and in summer, an old log nearby would be kept burning to insure starting a fire upon which to prepare the morning meal. If the fire failed, a flint was used to re-kindle it.

There was no wheat to make flour and the people ate "long bread," ashcake, shortbread, crackling bread, corn light bread, and hoecake. Also, johnnycake was made from meal ground in a water mill out of Indian corn raised on the little patches of cleared ground.

A century ago the clothing manufacturers in the county were the wives and daughters. Clothing generally was of poor quality, made from cotton or wool raised on a settler's own establishment. The women made their own clothing as well as that for the men. They wore shoes made from the skins of cattle, tanned long enough to remove the hair. Hats and caps were made of homemade cloth or rabbit skins. Everyone wore knitted caps in the wintertime. Pants buttons were made out of cow horns, and the women made shirt buttons out of thread.

As might be assumed, in this early environment of a cen-

tury ago, physicians were unavailable except in rare instances. The settlers depended upon family medicine. Each community kept a lance for bleeding. Teas made of roots, leaves, barks and berries were freely administered. If teas did not cure the illness, peach leaves were crammed around the body under the clothing and the sick person sweated. Tartar was the specific for biliousness and some families had a "sick tartar day" annually in the spring. Calomel was depended on unfailingly but salivation caused much fear, pain, and inconvenience.

Despite the apparent ills and hardships of life in the new county of Saline one hundred years ago, it was, in reality, an Eden for those of the Southern states who had found the cotton-gin economy too rigorous and severe to permit hope of prosperity for themselves and their children. Settlers kept coming into Egypt and into Saline County. In the short space of fifteen years before the Civil War, the new county became rather thickly populated with proud, aggressive, and public spirited citizens. They believed in Saline County. And they thought it unfortunate that emigrants heading for the great wide West should overlook the wonders and beauties of Saline County. This can be shown no better perhaps than by an editorial of Editor John F. Conover in the *Harrisburg Chronicle* on April 4, 1860:

Why it is that the tide of emigration passes by us we do not understand, neither do we understand why Southern Illinois has been for so long either unknown or misrepresented. Emigration seems to continue to the far West. This is certainly for the want of information among those who are seeking western homes, in regard to the price and quality of land in Southern Illinois. Our lands are indeed too cheap in proportion to their quality and the advancement of the country, (ranging from two to eight dollars an acre). But the low price of our lands is not the only incentive to emigration to Egypt. Our domestic institutions are equal, and some of them superior to those of many of the older States. Our common school system is admitted by all to be equal to that of any of the older States, and far ahead of many of them. Then those who would seek home in the wide west, where lands are cheap, where already the wild waste of wilderness has given way under the strong arm of the pioneer

and where they may enjoy the social advantages of civilized life, would do well to turn their attention to Southern Illinois, for "Our lands are broad enough, and our lands they are cheap enough, to afford them all a home." We can speak knowing of our country, and of Saline County in particular, and we feel sure that there is no other section of country in all the west that affords so many inducements to the industrious and enterprising farmer as ours does at the present time. Our lands are all of the best quality, our soil is rich and fertile, always yielding to the husbandman a rich reward for his labor and industry. In timber, our country is not surpassed by any, either in quantity or quality. Our mineral wealth is abundant, the whole country being underlaid with a strata of the finest quality of coal, sufficient for all time to come, the only trouble being the want of hills in this vicinity to facilitate the labor of mining, but with this inconvenience we are content. Our climate is certainly not surpassed for salubrity in all the west, it being a compromise between the extreme heat of the southern summer and the excessive cold of a northern winter, hence it is well adapted to the growth of all the crops common in our country. On account of our mild winters and early springs, we are enabled to harvest our wheat one month earlier than most of the wheat growing countries, which will always secure us a good price and a ready market. Our crops are always sure, for the reason that we are safe from the blasting frosts of spring and the chilling blast of autumn so common throughout the western country. Southern Illinois is perhaps the best fruit growing country in the United States, at least we think it second to none in that respect. Ours is an agricultural country, and must be so for some time to come, and of course the farmer is a sovereign. Here the cultivation of the soil will and must be the most honorable occupation in life. We are now improving rapidly in the science of agriculture, in different branches of manufacture, and in the moral development of our country. All we want now to make ours one of the finest Counties in the State, is to have the rough forest changed to productive farms. Without boasting of the country known as Egypt, we can say that this is the country for the man of industry in any pursuit of life; for the scientific farmer, for here he will find a rich soil, a good climate, and a healthy country, the indispensable companions of prosperity; and for the lover of nature, ours is the country and climate, here in Southern Illinois, where March brings our balmy Spring and April our blooming summer. Let all who would seek a home in the west, come and see, and believe.

The glowing picture painted by Editor Conover actually came into being in the years that followed. Despite his slight aversion to the coal industry, Saline County became one of the great producers of soft coal in Illinois. In addition, it now is

one of the finest agricultural counties in the state producing great quantities of soybeans, corn, and wheat. The county also produces some of the finest livestock raised anywhere in the country. Not only that, but it is becoming a land of vacation and recreation. A good part of its foothills are in the Shawnee National Forest, and people from far and wide travel to see the colorful dogwood and redbud usher in spring, and come again to see the unforgettable beauty of its forest trees in autumn.

Saline County, the youngest county in Egypt, has enjoyed a century of progress with historical importance second to no other in Illinois.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

LIFE OF MA-KA-TAI-ME-SHE-KIA-KIAK OR BLACK HAWK.
Dictated by himself. Cincinnati, 1833.

Oscar Wilde said, "Each man kills the thing he loves." In the history of the United States the red man's culture has been killed completely, but, during the demise, white people have continually displayed romantic sentimentality for the vanishing Indian. Many books have been written about Chief Brant, Pontiac and Tecumseh. Florida reveres Osceola; Colorado, Chief Ouray; Idaho, Chief Joseph. In Arizona and the Dakotas, Geronimo and Sitting Bull are both subjects of many adventurous tales. Illinois cherishes the memory of indomitable Black Hawk and his lifelong rivalry with Keokuk, the compromiser. Any red man like Black Hawk who could not adjust himself to civilization was doomed to tragedy. After agreeing—under pressure—to stay out of Illinois, Black Hawk found the homing instinct more than he could resist. With his people, women and children, he crossed the Mississippi for the last time in the spring of 1832. Soldiers commanded by General Henry Atkinson pursued Black Hawk up Rock River into Wisconsin where his band was practically annihilated as the desperate Indians tried to swim across the Mississippi. Black Hawk left his people before the final catastrophe. He was soon arrested by Indians friendly to the whites and brought in a captive. Black Hawk dedicated his autobiography in the following language:

TO BRIGADIER GEN'L. H. ATKINSON.

Sir,—The changes of fortune, and vicissitudes of war, made you my conqueror. When my last resources were exhausted, my warriors worn down with long and toilsome marches, we yielded, and I became your prisoner.

The story of my life is told in the following pages; it is intimately connected, and in some measure, identified with a part of the history of our own: I have, therefore, dedicated it to you.

The changes of many summers, have brought old age upon me,—and I cannot expect to survive many moons. Before I set out on my journey to the land of my fathers, I have determined to give my motives and

reasons for my former hostilities to the whites, and to vindicate my character from misrepresentation. The kindness I received from you whilst a prisoner of war, assures me that you will vouch for the facts contained in my narrative, so far as they came under your observation.

I am now an obscure member of a nation, that formerly honored and respected my opinions. The path to glory is rough, and many gloomy hours obscure it. May the Great Spirit shed light on your's [*sic*][—]and that you may never experience the humility that the power of the American government has reduced me to, is the wish of him, who, in his native forests, was once as proud and bold as yourself.

BLACK HAWK.

10th Moon, 1833.

As a prisoner Black Hawk was taken to the national capital and incarcerated in Fortress Monroe for a short time, then sent west to his homeland. It was hoped that his trip across the United States would teach him the futility of resisting so large a nation. Along the way he received great deference. Crowds assembled at Philadelphia, New York, and Albany. Handsome presents were given the fallen warrior. Once, at the theater tradition says, Black Hawk and President Jackson occupied opposite boxes. The Indian stole the attention of both the audience and the leading lady from the President. Back on the Mississippi an Ojibwa newspaperman, J. B. Patterson, saw the possibility of publishing the warrior's memoirs. Antoine LeClaire, Indian interpreter at Fort Armstrong, certified that he got the story directly from Black Hawk's lips. The old warrior was still proud of his battle record and apparently pleased by some of the honor bestowed on him back East. He told the following about his trip.

What pleasure it is to an old warrior, to see his son come forward and relate his exploits—it makes him feel young, and induces him to enter the square, and "fight his battles o'er again."

This national dance makes our warriors. When I was travelling last summer, on a steamboat, on a large river, going from New York to Albany, I was shown the place where the Americans dance their national dance [West Point]; where the old warriors recount to their young men what they have done, to stimulate them to go and do likewise. This surprised me, as I did not think the whites understood our way of making braves.

Governor Ford in his *History of Illinois*, reviewed in the Illinois Bookshelf in the March, 1945, issue of this *Journal*, called Black Hawk autobiography "a catch-penny publication." Ford stated that the work was written by a printer from accounts told by Antoine LeClere, [*sic*] the interpreter, and Colonel Davenport, the Rock Island trader. Black Hawk

o Ford said, "knew but little, if anything, about it." However this may be, the text of the book contains many incidents that can be checked as fact. A long critique of the book printed in the *North American Review* in January, 1835, accepts the account as genuine and notes, as many readers since have done, that author Black Hawk displayed the confusion natural for a savage confronted with a civilized code of ethics to which he was mentally unable to adjust himself. Note the following as an example:

What do we know of the manner of the laws and customs of the white people? They might buy our bodies for dissection, and we would touch the goose quill to confirm it, without knowing what we are doing. This was the case with myself and people in touching the goose quill the first time.

We can only judge of what is proper and right by our standard of right and wrong, which differs widely from the whites, if I have been correctly informed. The whites *may do bad* all their lives, and then, if they are *sorry for it* when about to die, *all is well!* But with us it is different: we must continue throughout our lives to do what we conceive to be good.

Black Hawk and his followers—known as the "British Band"—were in reality a small group that retained allegiance to Great Britain sixteen years after the War of 1812 settled the political future of the Northwest. The territory north of the Ohio had been ceded to the infant United States after the Revolution, but the British had been slow to remove their soldiers from the western forts. The Indians, dependent on the British for supplies and opposed to American settlers in their hunting grounds, caused continual trouble. Westerners urged the nation into the War of 1812 with the hope of ridding the Northwest Territory of British Indians. Tecumseh tried to get Black Hawk to support his confederation against the Americans but failed. So when the war broke out it is not surprising that Black Hawk went to Canada to fight with the British. He remained only a short time. Civilized warfare did not appeal to him. Back in his village he told the tribesmen the strange things he had seen. Here are his own words in the autobiography:

I explained to them the manner the British and Americans fought. Instead of stealing upon each other, and taking every advantage to *kill the enemy and save their own people*, as we do, (which, with us, is considered good policy in a war chief,) they march out, in open daylight, and *fight*, regardless of the number of warriors they may lose! After the battle is over, they retire to feast, and drink wine, as if nothing had happened; after which, they make a *statement in writing*, of what they have done—*each party claiming the victory!* and neither giving an account of half the number that have been killed on their own side.

Black Hawk's autobiography has been consistently printed and reprinted for a century—surely a record for any book. The first publication appeared in Cincinnati in 1833. A year later the little volume was printed in Boston, two years later in London. The book has never been a high priced collectors' item. Early copies usually fetch from ten to fifteen dollars. The 1882 edition sold in 1931 for sixteen.

HISTORICAL NOTE

THE FIRST MEMORIAL DAY*

On a sunny spring day seventy years ago remnants of some of the strife-torn families dwelling in the heart of "Little Egypt" joined in a ceremony to heal the ill feeling between the Blue and the Gray and to "bind up the wounds of the living." Carbondale, a small town nestling amid the rolling hills of the Southern Illinois Ozarks, cherishes the honor of having held the first Decoration Day celebration ever observed in our country.

On the afternoon of April 5, 1867, a gathering of the leading citizens of the town headed by a brass band playing patriotic airs marched from the public square out East Main street to Woodlawn Cemetery. There a formal program was presented.

The principal speaker of the day was Gen. John A. Logan, "Black Jack Logan," the famous Civil War commander, who was then a resident of Carbondale. This occasion was fully a year before his General Order No. 11 which, as Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, he issued on May 5, 1868, asking that May 30 be used for the decoration of the graves of soldiers. Gen. Logan later succeeded in having this date set aside as Memorial Day. But at this first local celebration there was no thought that it would later become a national institution observed by all for departed relatives and friends.

The town was peculiarly situated. While Illinois was northern and had declared for the Union, Little Egypt was torn asunder by its loyalties. This southern section of the State had been settled in the early days by the overflow from Kentucky and Tennessee. Though no slaves were held the majority of the population's sympathies were with the South to which they were so closely linked by blood and customs. The war had caused more than the usual suffering and heart aches in this borderline part of the country. Many families were rent by opposing con-

* This article by Mabel Thompson Rauch appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* Sunday magazine for May 30, 1937. Permission to reproduce it here has been kindly granted by the *Los Angeles Times*.

victions—one son going south to fight with the southern troops, another joining up with the North.

At the beginning of the war a company of southern sympathizers had been raised in an adjoining town and serious trouble was narrowly avoided when the loyal townspeople learned of the secret movement. On May 24, 1861, this band through strategy was able to reach southern territory without bloodshed. At Mayfield, Ky., they united with Company G of the One Hundred and Fifteenth Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers, and fought under Gen. Cheatham.¹ At the close of the rebellion the survivors, about half the company, returned home and were living among their former enemies in Little Egypt.

The war was now past, and while no more blood was being shed by violence, the hearts of the living were still bleeding. Many who went had never returned; many had been sent back for burial in the town cemetery; old friends and neighbors were unable to forget their bitternesses. Logan, himself, had suffered from these sectional differences within his own family.

And then came this thought, "To meet together, to carry flowers and place them on the graves of the lost loved ones, this would help to bind up the wounds of the living."

The townspeople had first planned the ceremony for April 4, but the weather not permitting, the celebration was held on the following day, Sunday. Several of the younger people who took part in the event of that time are still alive, and it is due to the remarkable memory of my aunt, Mrs. M. M. Thompson of Carbondale, that the happenings of the first Memorial Day have become alive and vivid.

At this time she was Miss Jeannette Ward, a young girl of 15. In her company with five other girls from some of the prominent families, she was invited to help prepare the flowers and be a part of the official procession. It is remarkable that after a lapse of seventy years, four of the lovely young girls who played leading roles in the ceremonies of that day are still alive. They are Mrs. Jeannette Ward Thompson, Mary Hindman Brush, Julia Hill Amon, Laura Cole Pope. Mrs. Julia Brush Bridgman and Sophronia Roberts Parsons are the two members of the group who have passed away.

These girls were invited on this day to the mansion of Col. D. H. Brush, a leading citizen of the town, and entertained at a dinner held at noon. One of the six was his own daughter. My aunt remembers it was a very grand dinner served in elaborate style by several servants, and

¹ Benjamin Franklin Cheatham.

a thrilling affair for young girls reared in the seclusion of early-day homes in a small country town.

Col. Brush maintained extensive gardens and grounds kept in a high state of blooming beauty by his English gardener. Rings fifteen inches in diameter had been cut from sheet copper. The colonel gathered his choicest flowers with which the girls converted the rings into beautiful wreaths, one to be placed on the grave of each soldier buried at Woodlawn.

"I recollect the day as if it were yesterday," said Aunt Jennie, "the attractive grounds, we girls arranging the fragrant spring flowers, and the warm sunshine beaming like a benediction over all. The girls were all pretty—oh, not like the girls of today, of course, but lovely with a sweet wholesome naturalness. We all wore full-skirted dresses of sheer white, and our slender waists were girded with wide ribbon sashes of delicate shades. I remember we were all much impressed with the honor of being entertained at this dinner and the solemnity of the occasion."

When the procession, under the direction of Capt. E. J. Ingersoll, reached Woodlawn the exercises were held at the head of the grave of Capt. H. L. Bowyer. Gen. Logan stood facing the north as he spoke to his assembled friends and neighbors. There was not a dry eye in the entire crowd; the war had touched their lives too poignantly; each had lost some close relative or friend—some fighting for the northern cause, some for the South.

The ceremonies opened with a prayer by Jacob Cole. He was chaplain of the Illinois Thirty-first, Logan's own famous volunteer regiment. Gen. Logan's speech was inspired and full of glowing patriotism. It was at this time, in speaking of the supreme sacrifice made by these soldiers sleeping so peacefully in this little country graveyard, that Logan voiced the phrase, "Every man's life belongs to his country."

After the speaking and singing the crowd scattered among the graves and a wreath was laid upon each soldier's resting place. All were decorated, no matter under which flag the men had fought. The six young girls who had prepared the garlands were assisted by thirty children between the ages of 8 and 10.

Mrs. George L. Bowyer, who still lives in Carbondale, was one of these more youthful flower bearers. She remembers that they carried baskets of flowers, marching among the graves and strewing them upon the grassy mounds as they passed. Her husband is also one of the few among those yet living who heard Logan speak that memorable day.

The success of the occasion did so much toward softening the bitter-

ness remaining from war days that immediately following it plans were discussed for a permanent Memorial Day to be held each year. The 30th of May was tentatively agreed upon. It was more suitable because in the late spring a greater quantity of flowers would be in bloom than upon the earlier date, especially in case of unseasonable weather.

The following year, on May 5, 1868, Gen. Logan formally issued his famous General Order No. 11, officially designating May 30 "for the purpose of strewing flowers or otherwise decorating the graves of comrades who died in defense of their country during the late rebellion, and whose bodies now lie in every city, village and hamlet churchyard in the land."

Today, seventy years have passed since that time. There are the graves of the honored dead from two later wars to be decorated. It has grown into a nationwide custom of our entire country to remember the resting places of all upon May 30, not only those who fell in war-time battles, but those others who fall in the peace-time battle with life.

And as Logan said in that order, "Let . . . no ravages of time, testify. . . to the coming generations that we have forgotten as a people the cost of a free and undivided Republic."

As for the rest of us, that first Memorial Day was held not only to honor the dead, but to "bind up the wounds of the living."

MABEL THOMPSON RAUCH

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

THE STEAMBOAT*

The sight of steamboats of the old type, out of use and rotting at their moorings, moved a young newspaper man, Clyde Fitch, to write the following commentary:

"The steamboat is an engine on a raft with eleven thousand dollars' worth of jigsaw work around it. Steamships are built of steel and are severely plain except on the inside where the millionaire tourist is confined. Steamboats are built of wood, tin, shingles, canvas, and twine, and look like a bride of Babylon. If a steamboat should go to sea, the ocean would take one playful slap at it and people would be picking up kindling on the beach for the next eleven years. However, the steamboat does not go to sea. Its home is on the river, which does not rise up and stand on end in a storm. It is necessary that the steamboat should be light and airy because if it were heavy it would stick into the bottom of the river several feet and become an island instead of a means of transportation. The steamboat is from 100 to 300 feet long and from 30 to 50 feet wide. It is from 40 to 70 feet high above water, but it does not extend more than three feet into the water. This is because that is all the water there is. A steamboat must be so built that when the river is low and the sandbars come out for air the first mate can tap a keg of beer and run the boat four miles on the suds. Steamboats were once the beasts of burden for the great Middle West, and a city which could not be reached at low water by a steamboat with two large hot stacks, twenty-five negro roustabouts on the bow end, and a gambler in the cabin, withered away and died in infancy. But the railroad, which runs in high water or low and does not stab itself in a vital spot with a snag, came along and cleared the steamboat out of business. There are only a few left now, which is a great pity, for the most decorative part of a great river is a tall white steamboat with a chime whistle and a flashing wheel

* From *Mississippi Steamboat* by Herbert Quick, by permission of the publishers. Copyright, 1926, by Henry Holt and Company.

in the far foreground. Steamboats would still prosper if steamboat men would go to school and learn how to solicit freight and how to load and deliver it without depending on the umbrageous and dilatory roustabout. A course in a good cooking school would also produce a grateful change in steamboat travel. The government has spent a hundred millions improving the rivers, but the steamboat hasn't improved in fifty years."

HERBERT QUICK, *Mississippi
Steamboatin'* (1926), 327-28.

HORSE RACING IN EARLY ILLINOIS

After the Indian war had closed in 1795, the citizens of Illinois turned their attention to the improvement of their stock. The breed of horses were advanced and many good ones raised in the country. Illinois at that day, as it has been ever since, was a good climate for horses. Col. William Whiteside, in 1796, introduced into the country a fine blooded-horse of the Janus stock. It is supposed by the best judges of horses that a better horse has never since stood in Illinois. Many of his colts made turf nags that won races not only in Illinois, but in many parts of the Union. The owners of two of these horses, both sired by Whiteside's horse, made a large bet on a race between them, of three miles and repeat. The race took place in the Horse Prairie in the spring of 1803. The people of Illinois at that day were all comprised within St. Clair and Randolph counties and were not numerous. The whole country, with a few exceptions, were great amateurs of the sport and the race, and the horses were as much discussed, to the number of people, as the late Mexican war was. I would not be surprised if one-third of all the males of Illinois attended the race and part of the females. The celebrated race-horse, Sleepy Davie, whose famous character all the ancient pioneers recollect, won the race, beating a fine gray horse much larger than himself.

These races were in their character something similar to the Olympic games in Greece and the railroad conventions and mass-meetings of modern times. It is essential for the people to assemble together to form friendly acquaintances and wear off unfounded prejudices. This is a great and important element in the congress of the United States. It gets the extremes of the nation together, and by a friendly intercourse among the members, the Union is made more permanent. By the Olympic games, the Grecian States were preserved and the people improved. Our Illinois races were nothing more in a small way than part of the Olympic games. The people came together from all parts of the inhabited Illinois and had a

friendly interchange of sentiment; became acquainted with each other, and returned home as friendly as brothers. At that day, 1803, less than sixty miles north and south and fifteen or twenty from the Mississippi, east and west, embraced the whole settlements, French and Americans, in Illinois.

At these races almost every description of business was transacted. Horses were swopped [*sic*] and contracts made. Debts paid and new ones contracted. Amusements of various species were indulged in. Foot-racing, wrestling, and jumping were not neglected. Sometimes shooting-matches were executed; so that in old pioneer times these horse-races were names for meetings where much other business or pleasure was transacted and experienced. Small kegs of whisky were often brought to the races; a keg in one end of a bag and a stone in the other. Sometimes a keg in each end was the manner of getting the liquor to the races. Old females at times had cakes and metheglin for sale. This race in the Horse Prairie was the most celebrated match-race that occurred in Illinois in early times and drew to it the greatest concourse of people. I think, in a moral point of view, the community was improved by it; not on account of the race, but by the friendly intercourse among so vast an assemblage of people at that day.

JOHN REYNOLDS, *The Pioneer History of Illinois* (1887), 344-46.

A VISIT TO THE STATE CAPITAL NINETY-NINE YEARS AGO

On Monday the 6th of November¹ I stepped aboard a small steamer trading up the Illinois, or "River of Men," and soon saw St. Louis fading out of view. I was not sorry to get away. The Presidential election was to occur next day, and a large town or city is far from pleasant during the scenes usually witnessed on such an occasion.

Our first halt was made at Alton, about three miles above the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi, an Illinoisian town of probably 2,000 inhabitants. Here we saw innumerable election flags, with all kinds of devices, floating in the breeze, and crowds of politicians indulging in a last harangue upon the topics of the day. Prairie farmers, pig-drivers, huntsmen, Indians, half-breeds, and labourers were assembled to hear the stump orator's last appeal, and to indulge in a preliminary glass previous to the "big drunk," as the Indians call it, with which so large a part of the population out West close the important event of the Presidential election.

¹ Peyton made this trip in 1848 and the election to which he refers is the one in which General Zachary Taylor, Whig, defeated the Democratic candidate, Lewis Cass.

The captain of our boat, who was a go-ahead man, gave us no further time to witness these popular demonstrations than what was absolutely necessary* to get on board his freight and passengers, when with bragging puffs of smoke and loud shrieks our engine once more moved the boat, and on we proceeded up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois, into which we entered, and up which we continued to Peoria, a thriving town of 5,000 inhabitants. Here I left the steamer, and hiring a horse, went sixty-three miles to Springfield, the capital of the State, situated on the Sangamon river. At this place, which is also a flourishing town of about 2,500 inhabitants, I had the pleasure to meet one of the former Governors of Illinois, Mr. Edwards, brother-in-law of the late President Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln was not in Springfield at this time—was absent upon professional business, and I thus failed to meet in his Western home the future President.

Among the prominent lawyers and politicians residing in Springfield, or its vicinity, I remember to have met Joel A. Mattison [*sic*], General Singleton, one of the favourite political stump orators of the State. Mr. Mason Brayman, author of a valuable digest of the laws of the State and solicitor of the Illinois Central Railway, and Robert S. Blackwell, of Jacksonville, a promising young lawyer, and unlike the majority of those around me, a native of the State.

There was little in and about Springfield to interest or amuse a stranger, consequently my visit was not protracted, especially as the weather was now very cold, and I was anxious to return south.

During an evening I passed at Governor Edwards', I heard much political conversation, and many lamentations over the election news which was coming in, and which indicated the defeat of the Democratic candidate. The general opinion was, that the country would make little or no progress under a Whig Administration—that all kinds of suicidal measures would be forced upon the people; and the only consolation they derived from the defeat—some comfort they extracted from it—was, that it would make the success of their party more certain four years later. . .

Among the people of Springfield there was much genuine hospitality; and a republican simplicity of manners and habits which was very pleasing. Visiting cards had scarcely been introduced, and the formal call was little in vogue. The Springfield dinners were so fine that they deserve to be specially mentioned. It is almost as much an institution with them as the English, and was served in the old English style. Every dish was placed upon the table and the tables groaned with the profusion—venison, wild turkeys, grouse, (prairie chickens) partridges, hare and other gam

was so plentiful, that I am sure it must have constituted the larger part of the animal food of the better portion of the inhabitants. And what will probably surprise some of my cockney readers, I do not think there was a single table on which, at this particular time, there was not a dish of bear's meat, which Western epicures professed to enjoy, but which I fancied those around me used gingerly—I certainly did. The meat of the bear is dark of colour, coarse grained, and very fat, the flavour being wild and decidedly gamy. The Indians have a way of frying it in the molasses or syrup of the sugar maple tree. Some persons fancy that thus prepared it is preferable to bear *au naturel*.

At these dinners, and, indeed, in the society of Springfield, there was little form or ceremony, and it is due to candour that I should say, that I did not meet a single vulgar or ill-bred person. This is no small compliment, when the period of my visit is considered. It only proves, however, that we must not imagine that genuine politeness and true gentlemen are found only in high society, and in the atmosphere of Courts.

I have subsequently passed much time in fashionable communities, and have seen much to disappoint and disgust. I went to Springfield on the prairies, and through the Far West to study nature rather than man. If on setting forth any one had spoken to me of *bon-ton* out West, I should have smiled at the idea. I now feel that one may go to the West to laugh at the people, but remain to enjoy their society. True, there were no state officials in these Western places to preserve the formal etiquette of the community, and to issue codified laws of courtly behaviour, yet instinct of nature, and the training which all youths receive in America, through the public schools and colleges, give the better portion of the people the manners and habits of good society. About these Western gentlemen there was a hearty, but dignified, and sometimes courtly, manner which one would have expected to find only among the hereditary grandees of an ancient monarchy, and none, not the slightest trace of that subserviency, those smiles and flattery, by dint of which an under-bred person, with the aid of money, sometimes pushes his way into the highest circles. On the contrary, there was a dignity and simplicity that recalled the heroes of antiquity, and made so pleasant and unexpected an impression upon me, that I was no longer surprised at the importance attached to good manners by such great men as Lord Bacon, who, by the by, has devoted an essay to manners, and reminds us, that as a precious stone must be of very high value to do without a setting, a man must be a very great one to dispense with social observances.

JOHN LEWIS PEYTON, *Over the Alleghanies and across the Prairies* (1869), 298-300; 303-05.

LINCOLN'S FAVORITE UNCLE

I did not travel on the circuit in 1835, on account of my health and the health of my wife, but attended court at Charleston that fall, held by Judge Grant, who had exchanged circuits with our judge, Justin Harlan. It was here I first met Abraham Lincoln, of Springfield, at that time a very modest and retiring man, dressed in a plain suit of mixed jeans. He did not make any marked impression upon me, or any other member of the bar. He was on a visit to his relations in Coles, where his father and step-mother lived, and some of her children. Lincoln put up at the hotel and there was where I saw him. Whether he was reading law at this time I cannot say. Certain it is, he had not then been admitted to the bar,¹ although he had some celebrity, having been a captain in the Black-Hawk campaign, and served a term in the Illinois Legislature; but if he won any fame at that season I have never heard of it. He had been one of the representatives from Sangamon. If Lincoln at this time felt the divine afflatus of greatness stir within him I have never heard of it. It was rather common among us then in the West to suppose that there was no presidential timber growing in the Northwest, yet he doubtless had at that time the stuff out of which to make half a dozen presidents.

I had known his relatives in Kentucky, and he asked me about them. His uncle, Mordecai Lincoln, I had known from my boyhood, and he was naturally a man of considerable genius; he was a man of great drollery, and it would almost make you laugh to look at him. I never saw but one other man whose quiet, droll look excited in me the same disposition to laugh, and that was Artemus Ward. He was quite a storyteller, and they were generally on the smutty order. . . . He was an honest man, as tender-hearted as a woman, and to the last degree charitable and benevolent.

No one ever took offense at Uncle Mord's stories—not even the ladies. I heard him once tell a bevy of fashionable girls that he knew a very large woman who had a husband so small that in the night she often mistook him for the baby, and that upon one occasion she had armed him with a diaper and was singing to him a soothing lullaby, when he awoke and told her that the baby was on the other side of the bed.

Lincoln had a very high opinion of his uncle, and on one occasion said to me: "Linder, I have often said that Uncle Mord had run off with all the talents of the family."

Old Mord, as we sometimes called him, had been in his younger days a very stout man, and was quite fond of playing the game of fisticuffs with anyone who was noted as a champion. He told a parcel of us once of a

¹ On September 9, 1836, Lincoln was licensed to practice law in all the courts of the state. Harry E. Pratt, *Lincoln, 1809-1839* (Springfield, c1941), 56.

itched battle he had fought with one of the champions of that day. He said they fought on the side of a hill or ridge; that at the bottom there was a rut or canal, which had been cut out by the freshets. He said they soon clinched, and he threw his man and fell on top of him. He said he always thought he had the best eyes in the world for measuring distances, and having measured the distance to the bottom of the hill, he concluded that by rolling over and over till they came to the bottom his antagonist's body would fill it, and he would be wedged in so tight that he could whip him at his leisure. So he let the fellow turn him, and over and over they went, when about the twentieth revolution brought Uncle Mord's back in contact with the bottom of the rut, "and," said he, "before hell could scorch a feather, I cried out in a stentorian voice: 'Take him off!' "

I could tell many more of Uncle Mord Lincoln's stories, but these two will serve as specimens. His sons and daughters were not talented, like the old man, but were very sensible people, noted for their honesty and kindness of heart.

USHER F. LINDER, *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (1879), 37-39.

THE FUNERAL OF COL. JOHN J. HARDIN,

KILLED AT BUENA VISTA, MEXICO

Buried at Jacksonville, Illinois.

There are some events, which form an era of sad and imposing interest in the remembrances of men; and which break in but seldom upon the quiet routine of social life. Of this character, in an eminent degree, was the mournful pageant which consigned to its repose the mangled form of the noble and lamented Hardin. In its impression upon the deeper feelings of this community, this event stands in lone and melancholy pre-ninence; a centre of strange and tender reminiscences, around which the thoughts of hundreds will often cluster, and fondly linger in coming time. Never have we witnessed such an exhibition of the dissolving power of sympathy over the cold frost-work of human hearts, as was displayed during the funeral rites of this beloved man. It was the deep, spontaneous voice of man's better, purer nature . . .

On Friday¹ afternoon, [*sic*] about six o'clock, the head of the procession, escorting the remains, was seen entering our village from the east, and as the long line of carriages and horsemen slowly deployed along the beautiful prairie that skirts the town, amid the solemn tolling

¹ Wednesday, July 14, 1847.

of the bells and the roar of cannon, every place of business was closed, the noise of trade was stilled, and a feeling of undefinable woe and sorrow seemed to steal upon every countenance, and pervade the entire place. Immediately behind the hearse bearing the coffin, followed the noble war horse of Hardin, led by a trusty servant, who had followed him with unwavering fidelity and attachment, through all his varied and perilous career upon a foreign soil.

To us this was the most touching feature in all the scene of that day. It seemed to bring the subject right home to every heart, and realize to us, as nothing else did or could have done, the sad certainty of our loss. There, right before our eyes, saddled, bridled and caparisoned, was the noble animal upon which the bold Hardin had ridden for many a weary mile, over many a desert and dangerous waste. "A steed comes at morning, no rider is there!"

No Hardin was there! His strong hand grasped not those reins, his manly form, his proud, glorious smile greeted not the throng of his admiring friends. The sight was truly impressive and melancholy . . .

We cannot more appropriately conclude this description of the sad pageant of Wednesday, than by introducing here the following lines written, some years since by Col. Hardin himself, while in Washington city, and inclosed in a letter to his wife. They are replete with the most touching eloquence.

Bury me not when I am dead,
Amidst the city's glare,—
Where careless, thoughtless mortals tread,
And wealth and misery are wed;
Oh! bury me not there.

Bury me not, when I'm no more,
High on a mountain bare,—
Where nought but eagle o'er it soar,—
And storms and tempests round it roar,
Oh! bury me not there.

Bury me not, when I'm at rest,
Where martial penons glare,—
For empty show and gorgeous crest
Can never soothe an icy breast;
Then bury me not there.

Bury me not, when I shall sleep,
By ocean's rocky lair;
Where winds and waves their vigils keep,
And ever moans the restless deep,—
Oh! bury me not there.

Bury me not when I am gone,
In boundless prairies, where,
The buried dead are left alone,
Unmarked save by a cold grave stone,—
Oh bury me not there.

But bury me when I shall die,
'Midst woods and flowers rare;
When o'er my grave the winds may sigh,
The birds may sing, and friends are nigh,
Oh! bury me then there.

*Obsequies of Col. John J. Hardin, at Jacksonville,
Illinois, July 14, 1847 (n.p.n.d.), 1-2, 24.*

BOOK REVIEWS

An American Dynasty. By John Tebbel. (Doubleday & Company, Inc. New York, 1947. Pp. 363. \$3.00.)

Because Mr. Tebbel's work deals with the growth of a newspaper empire whose activities have been a subject of controversy ever since its inception, and because so much of the story is closely associated with the history of Chicago, any person interested in Illinois history (and many others) is sure to find this a fascinating book.

"The story of the McCormicks, Medills and Pattersons" and their empire of the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News*, the *Washington Times-Herald* and their subsidiary interests finds here for the first time an attempt at a comprehensive, objective treatment from the days of Joseph Medill to the present. Mr. Tebbel's work is more than a sincere attempt to chronicle the growth of this colossus—with emphasis on the *Chicago Tribune* and Colonel Robert R. McCormick—it is an essay in explanation and interpretation as well. His thesis of the growth of the "dynasty" is an explanation cast in terms of family ability—"a pattern shaped by the stubborn, aggressive, eccentric McCormicks; the willful, aristocratic domineering Medills; and the religiously dogmatic Pattersons." It is sure to meet with objections, but it forms a good example for the heredity-environment theory of personality development.

It is not the purpose of this reviewer to enter into the controversy between the pros and cons of this highly controversial subject in which the dynasty is weighed and found wanting; it is better that the reader examine the well-documented case that Mr. Tebbel has so lovingly and carefully assembled from the record of nearly a century and draw his own conclusions. Certainly even the casual reader of *An American Dynasty* will be interested in examining the manner in which the personal journalism of the nineteenth century has had its carry-over into the twentieth in these three newspaper giants. Or if that subject does not interest one, the absorbing stories, often told but never assembled in one volume, of such activities as those of Medill in the nomination and election of Abraham Lincoln, and the Henry Ford-Tribune libel suit are worth reading.

Mr. Tebbel's attempted psychoanalysis of Colonel McCormick is also absorbing.

Regardless of one's opinion of the author's conclusions, *An American Dynasty* is a distinct contribution toward an understanding of our newspapers and newspaper policy, and toward the activities of a triumvirate which has had great influence on the national scene as well as in Chicago. *Northwestern University.*

ALFRED ROCKEFELLER, JR.

Battle for Chicago. By Wayne Andrews. (Harcourt, Brace and Company: New York, 1946. Pp. 358. \$3.75.)

Here is the financial history of Chicago, told not in terms of dollars, but in terms of personalities, and told with a skill that brings dead men alive and makes the living more understandable.

Skimming rather lightly over the frontier days, Mr. Andrews really gets into his story with the Civil War times and those immediately thereafter, when Chicago's phenomenal growth brought almost unlimited opportunity for amassing wealth.

Here we see Marshall Field, that scientific analyst of money-making, silent, unobtrusive, yet imperial and elegant, dominating even the bravest men with his cold, commanding eyes, piling up millions from his store and his shrewd investments in real estate.

Cyrus Hall McCormick, sentimental, pious, so nervous that he is not at ease even in his own dining room, attacks the problem of selling reaping machines "with the same eagerness he displays at his breakfast table." Joseph Medill, "embalming his dignity in clothes long since outlived by fashion," values his time too highly to waste it talking with friends. P. D. Armour credits his own success to the ability to keep his mouth shut, but probably profits more from his habit of getting to work before "the boys with the polished nails show up."

Absorbed in money-making, but probably more fascinated with the making of it than with the cash itself, these men, together with George I. Pullman, Potter Palmer, Swift and others of the dollar dynasties, flash through these pages with realistic vividness.

The Haymarket riot and the Pullman strike mark the beginning of impatience with this irresponsible individualism; but the author is concerned primarily with the dynastic rivalries rather than the class struggle.

Lavishing their wealth upon the World's Fair as a means of displaying Chicago's opulence, immuring themselves, on the Gold Coast on Prairie Avenue, in ostentatious architectural atrocities which were then "built of boulders," the tycoons approach charitable beneficence

with a reluctance which gradually gives place to generous munificence in support of Chicago's cultural institutions.

Bringing the story down through the fabulous era of Insull and the circulation wars between the *Tribune* and the Hearst press, the author concludes with the present catch-as-catch-can combat featuring Marshal Field III and Colonel Robert Rutherford McCormick with its repercussions in New York and Washington.

Yet it is only on the newspaper front that the battle of the dynasties still rages. Elsewhere, the mushrooming corporation has subordinated the tycoon.

Springfield, Ill.

BENJAMIN P. THOMAS.

The Wilderness Road. By Robert Kincaid. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company Indianapolis, 1947. Pp. 392. \$3.75.)

Many a pioneer started for the virgin prairie of Illinois over the Wilderness Road through Virginia and Kentucky, which happily is the subject of the first volume to appear in the American Trails Series. These hardy souls, men and women, came from along the seaboard as far south as the Carolinas. Some were born on the way, as was this reviewer's paternal grandmother, Nancy Ann Adams (1829-1913) of Macoupin County. Her birthplace was historic Cumberland Gap, where thousands came through the break in the mountains, on foot or in wagon trains, in the steps of Daniel Boone.

The story of this life line through the Appalachian forests is a stirring, throbbing chapter in the westward migration and hence a vital part of the national chronicle. Dr. Kincaid's graphic pages, with their sound of rifle fire and creaking wagon wheels by day and howling wolves and hooting owls by night, give a far richer conception of the Wilderness Trail's drama of promise and hardship than a trip through the area today. Now, as the author says, "the way is too easy; the marks of progress are too recent."

Genuine affection for, as well as intense interest in the theme characterize Dr. Kincaid's research and narration. Executive vice-president of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, and president of the Cumberland Gap National Historical Park Association, he is a native of the country of which he writes; he dedicates his book to the memory of a son, "who sleeps by the Road." And living actively in the present as well as in the past, he, as perhaps no one else, was fitted to bring the story of the old trail and its region down to recent times.

This series, with volumes already in preparation on the Overland Trail and the National Road, inevitably will join the shelves of books on rivers, regions, and folkways notable as stocktakings of our life and culture and achievement. This reader congratulates Jay Monaghan, general editor of the series, and hails another evidence of the ever broadening trail blazed by the state and local guides, produced under the Federal Writers Project in the long ago days of the WPA.

Collinsville.

IRVING DILLIARD.

The Illinois Ozarks. By Clarence Bonnell. (Privately published, 1946. Pp. [4], 150, [6].)

The Illinois Ozarks, by Clarence Bonnell, is an informal guide to numerous points of interest and of beauty in the hill country of Egypt. It could serve a highly useful purpose. Unlike that type of guidebook which has the obvious purpose of making money for the author and for the hotels and merchants of the area thus advertised, Mr. Bonnell has written this book with the object of attracting his readers to see for themselves what he has himself seen with so much enjoyment and benefit. What he has written, pictured, and described, with delightfully informal style, does indeed capture the reader's interest. And it may be hoped that many who read will, like the present reviewer, as soon as possible follow the author's leadership.

With the minimum of geological data (and that presented untechnically), the nature of the hill country of extreme southern Illinois is shown to be an extension of the western Ozarks. Doubtless it will interest and surprise many to learn that Williams Hill, in this region, is 176 feet lower in altitude than Charles Mound (the highest point in Illinois, in Jo Daviess County). Better acquaintance with the physical features of Illinois should be the prelude to an understanding of historical and social features of Egypt. Mr. Bonnell's book has this for one of its purposes.

No brief review could possibly suggest the wealth of places and types of physical phenomena which Mr. Bonnell describes. But his information is clearly stated, so that his guidebook will be highly efficient. It contains a full index, complete road information, and a sketch map. There are numerous photographs. Historical references are supplied to the extent required. The book can be easily carried by the tourist. Mr. Bonnell is to be commended for what is obviously a labor of love.

University of Illinois.

DONALD W. RIDDLE.

Lorado Taft: Sculptor and Citizen. By Ada Bartlett Taft. (M. T. Smith Greensboro, N. C., 1946. Pp. 88. \$2.50.)

Being born just before the Civil War and dying just before World War II, Lorado Taft grew up with Illinois—where he lived all his life. Here the people's minds were on corn and hogs, on railways and farm machinery, on the Board of Trade and steel. It would have been hard to find a soil more unsuited to a deep interest in art. But, fortunately for Illinois, Lorado Taft had a fighting, missionary spirit, and a profound belief in education. He stayed home in an age of expatriates, and the entire Middle West is the richer for it.

This memoir is prepared by his wife. As she says in the preface:

[It was written] to study the influences that had made him a person so interested in his fellow men and concerned with their welfare, so responsive to man's highest achievements and ideals, so gifted as an artist so scholarly and yet so joyous. . . . I wanted some means of making our grandchildren know him and what he stood for.

The format of the book is beautiful, and the twenty-one illustrations add meaning to the text. Although the novel methods of casting "The Fountain of Time" and "Blackhawk" are explained, this is not the place to look for an account of techniques or sculptural problems. This is a personal story written with delicacy and, despite the title, one finds more concerning Taft the human being than either the sculptor or the citizen. There are extracts from his exuberant Paris letters, there are his jokes, his hopes and disappointments. The imposing list of his most important sculptural works at the end of the book intimates his heritage to us. But there can be no list of the intangibles: the influence of his studio on the Midway; his lectures on the Chautauqua circuits, for the Y. M. C. A. in France, and at the Art Institute; the role he played in helping cities plan for beauty and recreation; and the hours he spent encouraging young sculptors everywhere in the country.

Washington, D. C.

MINNA MARGARET ADAMS

The Lincoln Reader. Edited with Introduction by Paul M. Angle. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, 1947. Pp. xii, 564. \$3.75.)

It seems superfluous to review a book whose excellence has already made it a Book-of-the-Month Club selection. For a quarter of a century there has been a demand for a one-volume life of Lincoln. Mr. Angle has prepared several "shelves of books," basic to a fundamental knowledge of Lincoln's life. These have received the recognition generally accorded academic exercises but most readers stay away from the prospect of reading

eighty or more volumes no matter how creditable or "fundamental." Mr. Angle has now solved this problem by squeezing the juice from his "helves" and annealing it into one volume of many colors. The importance of this work can scarcely be overestimated. With a circulation that must be close to half a million copies, this book pictures Lincoln and the events in his life as they will be generally accepted for many years to come. In the past, students have disagreed on the early romance Lincoln is alleged to have had with Ann Rutledge. Mr. Angle prints Sandberg's immortal and highly imaginative three-page account with twelve qualifying lines. It may be assumed that the Ann Rutledge story with all its embellishments has thus been fixed permanently in the popular mind. Valuable in the Lincoln reader too, are the extensive quotations from Benjamin P. Thomas, a trustee of the State Historical Library. Mr. Thomas is known to all specialists as a penetrating Lincoln scholar, probably the pre-eminent authority on Lincoln's life between 1847 and 1853. Excerpts from his previously printed studies, quoted in the *Lincoln Reader* will introduce him to a larger audience as a scholar who writes with charm as well as authority.

J. M.

Lincoln and His Times, 1809-1865. By the Editors of *Look* and Enid La Monte Meadowcroft. (Thomas Y. Crowell Company: New York, 1946. Pp. 39. \$2.50.)

Here is a picture-book history for children between seven and fourteen. The author starts with the Revolution, explains the rapid growth of the United States in a chapter of fourteen illustrations, then uses the life of Lincoln to tell the nation's story to the close of the Civil War. The pictures vary from contemporary engravings and Brady photographs to pencil drawings in juvenile books a generation ago. The author has gone to early-day children's books exclusively for her text and in consequence has not benefited by any of the historical investigations of the last forty years. The illustrations will entertain children's parents. The format is loosely put together and would be cheap at half its present price.

J. M.

Honorable John Hale: A Comedy of American Politics. By Clifford Raymond. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company: Indianapolis, 1946. Pp. 370. \$2.75.)

The Illinois State Historical Library does not make a practice of purchasing historical fiction nor does this *Journal* review it. However, when the library meets itself in the covers of a book the editors have succumbed

to the temptation of noticing a class of literature beyond their jurisdiction. *The Honorable John Hale* is a satire on the Springfield legislature forty years ago. Many people claim that the book reflects modern capital life as accurately as it does the democratic process of the last generation. Some even claim that the author has disguised real characters with fictitious names. Clifford Raymond was a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune* during the decades his book portrays. His hero, John Hale, comes to Springfield with many impractical, albeit idealistic, opinions about government. His awakening is amusing and his appreciation of the Historical Library enlightening. At first he visits the library to enjoy our interesting collections. He soon learns that only two legislators have previously entered the quiet reading room. "One was a young fellow who liked a blonde assistant librarian," so the book says, and "the other was old Don Caswell and he wasn't interested in the blonde. That old scoundrel was really interested in Lincoln. . . . He was on the square about that but I never knew him to be on the square about anything else."

This book has many pages written in this vein.

J. M.

And Hearing Not—. By Earnest Elmo Calkins. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1946. Pp. 387. \$3.75.)

For one who is interested in advertising (and that includes this reviewer for many years back) this is indeed a fascinating book. The firm of Calkins & Holden (Earnest Elmo Calkins in particular) has done much to raise advertising from a rather disreputable business to a profession. This book is an admirable antidote for the taste left in one's mouth after reading *The Hucksters*. The reproductions of a few advertisements, reaching back a generation and more, revive long-forgotten memories. "Phoeb Snow" and "Sunny Jim" are advertising characters we recall with pleasure.

But this is far more than a book about advertising. It is a story of triumph over the affliction of deafness which began when the author was six years old and grew progressively worse. There is no self-pity, yet he does not minimize his handicap. His participation in activities at Knox College seems amazing, but so have been his other accomplishments. One feels that he has gained more than he has lost.

For Illinoisans, this book has additional interest. Much of it deals with the author's life in Illinois. He was reared in Galesburg, attended Knox College, and really began his advertising career with Schipper Bloch in Peoria.

On the occasion of Galesburg's centennial (1937) Earnest Elmo Calns was the official historian. He returned to the town of his youth to live for some months. Fifty years had wrought many changes in Galesburg, but the few friends who had survived gave him a link to the life of the town. His book *They Broke the Prairie* was completed in time for the centenary. From this brief contact with his home town he discovered the thing that surprised him. Illinois fascinated him. He wrote:

I found I had an affection for it not suspected those years when I was so complacent over having gotten away from it. There is something about the involuntary response of one's inmost being to the soil that breeds in which is heart-warming and satisfying. I used to think it a poetic fiction, but I found it true. In the intervals of the work on the book and the celebration I explored the country. . . until I had covered the entire state. I was surprised at its beauty, the level prairie broken by silos on the skyline looking like castle towers in the distance, the groves scattered over the land, the magnificent sunsets, the great carpets of corn, so mathematically perfect in their aligned rows, their tops level enough for a landing field, the droves of black pigs, with their white mess-jackets. It was beautiful in its way as the New England landscape that I had learned to admire, and it had that further appeal that I somehow seemed to belong to it. It was the earth of which I was made.

S. A. W.

First Methodist Church, Springfield, Illinois: 125 Years. By W. G. Piersel.

(Published by the Official Board for the 125th anniversary celebration: Springfield, Ill., 1947. Pp. 48.)

A century and a quarter may not be an unusual age for institutions along the Atlantic Seaboard. But in 1821, Illinois was very young indeed. The county of Sangamon was established on January 30, 1821. In April, Charles R. Matheny was named circuit clerk, auditor, and county clerk. Also in 1821, there was organized a "Methodist class" that met in Matheny's log cabin in Calhoun (Springfield), and Matheny was appointed its leader.

Such were the humble beginnings of the First Methodist Church, Springfield, Illinois. W. G. Piersel has traced its history down through the years—a history whose interesting highlights are part of the history of Springfield and Illinois.

A pessimist may wonder what we have profited from the ideals and struggles of the great denominations, the world being what it is today. But for the faithful, the words put into the mouth of Ulysses by Tennyson may well serve as a motto:

. . . that which we are, we are,
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

S. A. W.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Many guides for western emigrants were published during the 1820 and 1830's. The picture on the cover of this month's *Journal* appeared in a pamphlet satirizing conventional overland guides. Entitled *Western Emigration*, the anonymous author signed his name "Major Walter Wilkey." The pamphlet is in the Illinois State Historical Library.



Historic Starved Rock and its immediate area drew one hundred and twenty members and their guests to the Annual Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society on May 2-3.

Here, where Jolliet, LaSalle, Tonti and other explorers dreamed and embarked on new exploits for the glory of France; where Père Marquet and other early missionaries labored to bring the savage inhabitants to the church; on the Illinois River, which carried traders from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi River, the tourists got a close-up view of men and events in a restricted area which has become a very large page in history.

The formal program opened with a dinner meeting at Hotel Kaskaskia in LaSalle. The invocation by the Rev. Robert Mulligan, minister of the Methodist church, was followed by after-dinner speakers introduced by Dr. H. Gary Hudson, president of Illinois College.

James Butler (Wild Bill) Hickok, a native of Troy Grove in LaSalle County, was the subject of a talk by Dr. Clarence Paine, director of Beloit College Libraries. The speaker, an authority on western history, sketched the story of "Wild Bill" from his birth in 1837 through his adventures in frontier states west of the Mississippi River—his skill as a gun fighter and a law officer—to the day of his death in 1876 when he was killed by an old enemy. Dr. Paine explained that the deeds of the real Hickok have been so mixed with fiction that it is difficult to separate fact from fancy.

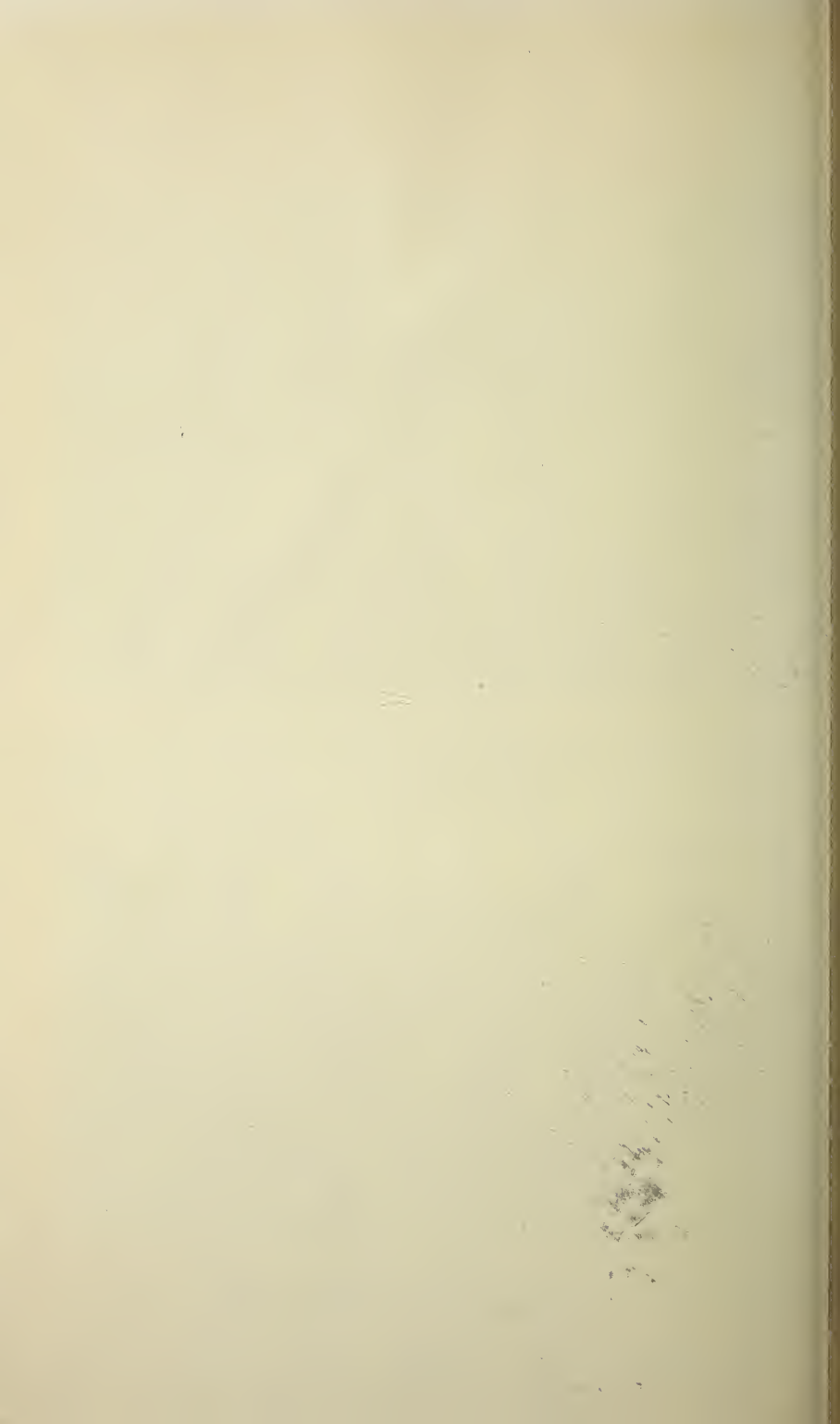
Lon Hickok of Troy Grove, a nephew of "Wild Bill," sat at the speakers' table with his wife. Also present was Mrs. Annetta Persone, who was born eighty years ago in Troy Grove, lived next door to the Hickok family, and remembered seeing the famous plainsman.

Next on the program was a paper on "Judge John Dean Caton at Ottawa" by Wayne C. Townley of Bloomington, past president of the



SNAPSHOTS FROM SPRING TOUR, ILLINOIS
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Upper—Boat Trip From Ottawa to Starved Rock
Lower—Boat Arriving at Starved Rock State Park



Society. Judge Caton is well known to readers of this *Journal* as a lawyer, jurist, industrialist, naturalist and author of works on scientific subjects. Mr. Townley also mentioned other men and women who helped to make LaSalle County notable for its contributions to the development of the state and nation, such men as Judge T. Lyle Dickey, Gen. W. H. L. Wallace, Burton C. Cook, who nominated Lincoln for the presidency at the Union convention of 1864; S. E. King, who endowed a hospital, a high school and the Y. M. C. A., and Thomas Dean Catlin, banker, industrialist and mayor.

On the morning after the dinner meeting two chartered busses and a number of private automobiles left LaSalle at 8:30 o'clock. A pilot car, with J. Monaghan talking on a public address system, led the way. The caravan stopped briefly at the last remaining lock in the old Illinois and Michigan Canal, then drove on to Water Street in Peru where many of the old store fronts stand as mute reminders that this was once a great commercial loading point at the head of navigation on the Illinois River. Several galleried houses still carry cast-iron grillwork which probably came by boat from New Orleans. An old, wooden bridge, constructed in 1865, spans the river at Peru. On the bluffs above the old town the busses stopped in front of the residence of Captain McCormick, steamboat king in days before the Civil War. The pilot house, or "Texas" of favorite steamboat, still stands in the yard as an "office" or outhouse where McCormick placed it. Arrangements for the LaSalle meeting were under the direction of Dr. R. C. Slater of that city.

The busses drove north through rich farm land, black and level. At Troy Grove, the party paused before the marker erected to the memory of "Wild Bill" Hickok. The next stop was made at Shabbona State Park, site of the massacre of sixteen white persons by Indians. The park bears the name of Chief Shabonee as a tribute to him for warning the victims of the impending attack.

From the park the caravan moved south toward Ottawa passing on the left the road to Norway, site of the first permanent Norwegian settlement in America. A bronze plaque commemorating the achievements of Leng Peerson was unveiled here in 1934. Captain Joseph M. Johnson, a member of the State Historical Society, was instrumental in placing this interesting marker.

South of the road to Norway the sightseeing busses continued to Ottawa, county seat of LaSalle. With C. C. Tisler, a member of the editorial staff of the *Republican-Times* in the pilot car with J. Monaghan, points of interest in Ottawa were announced as the caravan passed them. The following places have been marked here by D. A. R.: Five sites con-

nected with Lincoln in the Black Hawk War and in his debates with Douglas about a generation later; the location of Fort Johnston, named for Albert Sidney Johnston, adjutant general in the Black Hawk War; the grave of a Revolutionary soldier, the graves of three Real Daughters. A tree has also been planted on Ottawa Township High School grounds in memory of Guy Hoxie, first Ottawa boy to lose his life in World War I.

The busses and cars crossed the Illinois River near the site of Fort Johnston and stopped to call at the historic house occupied by Mr. and Mrs. T. R. Godfrey at 210 West Prospect Avenue. This splendid mansion was erected in 1854 by John Hossack, a native of Scotland and a wealthy grain dealer, who allied himself with antislavery forces previous to the Civil War. On a charge of assisting a runaway slave, Hossack was fined and jailed in Chicago under the United States fugitive slave act. His beautiful mansion with its white exterior, pillars, porch and balcony quite exceeded the expectations of most of the visitors. The rooms, all of which were opened for inspection, are richly furnished in keeping with the period of its early occupants.

Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey graciously stood in the receiving line as their guests were presented. Refreshments, which included coffee and doughnuts, were served. Mrs. Helen Lawrence Murdock of Ottawa represented the Society in assisting the host and hostess. At the coffee table Mrs. Philip Godfrey, Mrs. Charles F. Brenn, and Mrs. Fred A. Sapp served members. The charm of the surroundings made it difficult for some guests to tear themselves away and board the busses for the short trip down to the Ottawa Yacht Club boat landing at the mouth of Fox River.

A pleasure craft carried the Society members down Illinois River past Buffalo Rock State Park, through the Utica locks to the landing at Starved Rock State Park. Busses met the boat at 1 o'clock and carried the members up the winding woodland road to the lodge for luncheon.

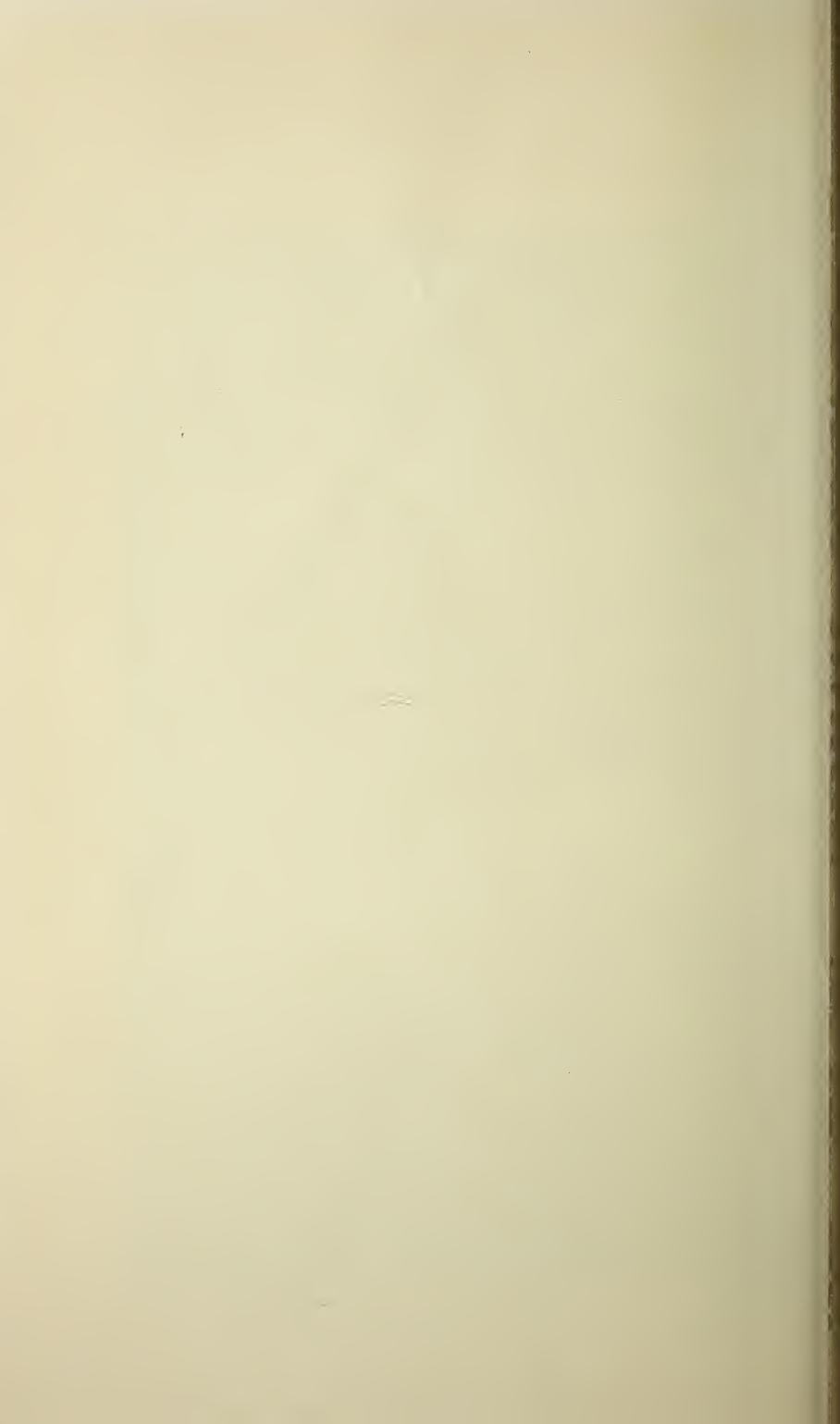
After eating, the party adjourned to a natural amphitheater far down the hillside where seats had been arranged. Here the formal program of the tour was closed with an address on Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle by the Rev. Jean Delanglez, S. J., head of the history department of Loyola University, Chicago.

Father Delanglez presented a penetrating analysis of the character of the Frenchman whose talents, he stated, were outweighed by defects which resulted in the failure of his enterprises. The speaker fortified his conclusion with a letter written by LaSalle in 1681 in which the explorer wrote: "I confess that my coldness is due to timidity and that fear of making mistakes makes me more afraid of blunders than I would like to be. It is a defect of character of which I shall never rid myself."



Photo by C. C. Tisler

FATHER DELANGLEZ ADDRESSING ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY GROUP AT
STARVED ROCK STATE PARK



The local press, especially the *LaSalle Post-Tribune* and the *Ottawa Republican-Times*, gave generous space to publicize the tour.



Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois, conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters on Paul McClelland Angle and Benjamin Platt Thomas at the commencement exercises on June 15.

Mr. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society since 1945 and formerly State Historian, is the author of numerous books, including the recently published *Lincoln Reader*.

Mr. Thomas, a director of the Abraham Lincoln Association and a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library, is also the author of several works on Lincoln. His new book, *A Portrait for Posterity*, is scheduled for publication this fall.



The Abraham Lincoln Association, First National Bank Building, Springfield, Illinois, solicits information concerning the present private ownership and location of any document composed by Abraham Lincoln, whether or not it has been published hitherto. Documents in public institutions are readily accessible, but many of those held by individuals have not been located to date. The preparation of a complete edition of Lincoln's writings from original sources will be greatly facilitated by information leading to procurement of photostatic copies of documents held by private individuals. Acknowledgment of assistance will be fully made upon publication.



On July 29, the Bryant cottage in Bement, Illinois, will be dedicated at the place where Lincoln and Douglas met to go over plans for their historic debates. The cottage has been presented to the state by the heirs of Francis E. Bryant and his wife.

State Senator Everett R. Peters will be chairman of the dedication ceremonies. Speakers for the occasion will be C. C. Burford, of Urbana, who sponsored the movement for the state to acquire the cottage, and Wayne C. Townley, of Bloomington.



Hubert G. Schmidt, assistant professor of history at the Newark Colleges of Rutgers University, has been awarded first place in the Alfred Stern contest for the best essay on Illinois or Illinoisans in the Civil War. Dr. Schmidt's essay is printed in this issue of the *Journal*. The second prize was awarded to Dr. John Hope Franklin, professor of history

at North Carolina College at Durham. His topic was "James T. Ayers Civil War Recruiter."



The Sons of the Utah Pioneers plan to re-enact the Mormon exodus from Illinois on the centenary of that event, July 14-22, 1947. In an effort to publicize the centennial celebration, the Nauvoo Chamber of Commerce has requested all men of the city to let their beards grow until after the proposed re-enactment of the "Exodus of the Mormons."



The month of February always brings many visitors to the museum of the Aurora Historical Society to see its outstanding collection of Lincolniana. The museum is housed in the old Tanner mansion, one of the historic landmarks of northern Illinois.

The Society's drive for funds has brought in \$4,725.38 according to a report made by President A. J. Meiers early in March. In May, the Society sponsored a spring party at the Aurora Woman's Club.



Officers of the Boone County Historical Society for 1947 are: G. I. Sager, president; Warren D. Lambert, vice-president; Nelva Dean, secretary; Mrs. H. C. Curtis, corresponding secretary; Fred Warren, treasurer; Mrs. Alva McMasters, historian; and Thomas S. Beckington, custodian. The following were re-elected trustees: Fred A. Marean, Patrick F. O'Donnell, Willis Griffeth, Mrs. John Oberholser, and Mrs. Arthur Trippe.

At the January meeting, a paper on the history of the Ida Public Library, prepared by the librarian, Mrs. Ruth S. Wilcox, was read by Mrs. Ida LaSha. In February, members answered to roll call by recounting a story from early life in Boone County. Plans were discussed in March for resuming the dinner to honor persons who have been residents of Boone County for seventy-five years. Ruth Helligas gave a talk in April on the early hotels of Belvidere.



Members and friends of the Cahokia Historical Society attended a buffet supper preceding the regular monthly meeting in January. At the business session, presided over by Mrs. W. H. Matlack, a report was given by Edwin Barmann on the restoration of Cahokia. C. F. Gergen told of several summer tours of historical interest that are being planned. Mr. Paul S. Abt gave a talk on the Cahokia Mounds. Miss Willamary Azmann described the "theremin" and "solovox" and with her mother played several selections on the instruments. Miss Helene H. Rogge spoke in March on "Rare Old Books."

A number of interesting exhibits have been featured at the Chicago Historical Society, among them an exhibit of authentic historical prints of American cities and fifty cartoons, published during the peak of Lincoln's career.

A new "voice library" has been started by the Society. The voices of seven civic and religious leaders have already been recorded.



The Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association (Chicago) met at the Hild Regional Library on April 24. The featured speaker was Miss Herma Clark on the topic "When Chicago Was Young." Exhibits showed costumes of the "gay nineties" and photographs of the early days of Lake View High School. Officers of the Society are: James McCurrach, president; Miss Sophie Chandler, Mrs. Alben Young, and Dr. H. K. Catcliff, vice-presidents; Miss Helen Zatterberg, secretary-treasurer.



Vaughn Shoemaker, cartoonist, was the speaker and entertainer at the February meeting of the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago).



Honor students of West Side high schools were the special guests of the (Chicago) West Side Historical Society's annual meeting in March. Robert H. Sommers, principal of the Austin High School, told "Tales of the West Side Inn."



At the February meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society, Roy Curtis talked on "Fords, Ferries, and Bridges in Early Edwards County." Edgar L. Dukes showed his collection of photographs of native flowers and plants. Mrs. K. C. Hogue, president, presided at the business session. At the March meeting, Mrs. W. A. Wheeler told the romantic story of Edgar Thompson, an Albion boy who became king of the Fiji Islands. Thompson, as king, was known as Waila Nambuka, "Child of the Sun," and ruled until his death many years ago. In April, O. A. Huntington showed moving pictures in natural colors of a vacation trip to his hunting and fishing lodge at Lake Itaska in Minnesota.



Early in the year, the Evanston Historical Society received documents signed by Lincoln and Seward naming William P. Jones consul to China. Jones was head of the old Northwestern Female College before becoming a part of Northwestern University.

At a meeting in March of the Geneva Historical Society, the history of Geneva's public and private schools was presented by the Society's education committee. An interesting exhibit accompanied the program with photographs and souvenir programs of different periods in the school history of Geneva.



Two papers were presented at the March meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society: "Pioneer Business Firms and Industrial Development of Mt. Vernon," by Harold Howard, and "School History of Jefferson County," by Sidney Hirons.



The birthplace of former Governor Len Small has been proposed as a state memorial to him. It is also planned to add a wing to the residence to provide quarters for the Kankakee County Historical Society and the Kankakee Art League.



A handsome scroll executed by Mrs. Henry C. Hassel has been presented by the Kenilworth Historical Society to the Joseph Sears School for its work in the pageant commemorating the village's fiftieth anniversary.



Mrs. Harry Warner read a paper on the "History of the Dixon Water Company" at a meeting in January of the Lee County Historical Society. In March, the Society heard Miss Josephine Egan talk on "Amboy History." Miss Egan is the librarian of Pankhurst Memorial Library at Amboy.



At the quarterly meeting in March of the Macon County Historical Society, members heard a talk on "Books in the Pioneer Household." The paper, prepared by Miss Clara Baker of the public library, was read by Miss Mary Baker, her sister.



The Edwardsville branch of the Madison County Historical Society inaugurated in February a series of historical programs to study Edwardsville history. At this meeting, pictures were shown by Julian Vallette, president of the Edwardsville branch of the Society, of rock formations of prehistoric ages. Joseph F. Cronin and A. W. Jagers assisted in ex-

laining the geological formations. At the March meeting, the development of the mound builders' culture was discussed by Miss Jessie E. Springer. Mrs. E. W. Schmidt reviewed a new book, *Human Destiny*, by Pierre Lecomte du Noüy.



Officers of the Maywood Historical Society are: W. L. Castleman, president; Mrs. Margaret Edlund, vice-president; Mrs. Cecile Rhodes, treasurer; and Edward P. Benjamin, secretary. The Society was organized in 1939.



The Morgan County Historical Society has announced its sixth annual essay contest. Subjects chosen must be registered with the secretary, Miss Fidelia Abbott. The contest is open to all, regardless of residence. The essays must contain 3000 words or more, should deal with Morgan County settlers or history, and must be submitted before October 21, 1947.

The annual dinner meeting of the Society was held on April 22, to celebrate the centennial of the founding of the Jacksonville State Hospital, and the one hundred and twenty-second birthday of Jacksonville. A paper prepared by Frank J. Heintz on "The Origin of the Jacksonville State Hospital" was read by Ernest Hildner.



In February, 1937, the Oak Park Historical Society was organized. This year it celebrated its tenth anniversary with "Reminiscences in Tribute to the Tenth Anniversary," dedicated to J. C. Miller who has been chairman of the historical facts committee since the organization of the Society. Frank Stevens is president of the Society.



At the March meeting of the Peoria Historical Society, George Alfson called the difficulties of transportation before the days of hard roads. P. Carroll talked on the railroad history of Peoria. Hard roads and the railroads helped make Peoria an industrial center. As recently as the decade from 1910 to 1920 dirt roads, that were mud after rains, made driving hazardous.



The annual spring meeting of the Rock Island Historical Society was held on May 10, in Johnson's Tea Room, Moline. O. L. Nordstrom is president of the Society.

Clarence Bonnell was re-elected president of the Saline County Historical Society. Others re-elected are: T. Leo Dodd, first vice-president; James Bond, treasurer; and Scerial Thompson, secretary. Mrs. Fred G. Lindsay was elected to the new office of first vice-president. The speaker of the evening was Frank J. Bell who explained geological formations in southern Illinois.

The Society is sponsoring a celebration on October 23-25 of this year for the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Saline County. The first day of the celebration will consist of programs in various parts of the county, the second day will be devoted to tours, and the third to a parade and meeting in the fairgrounds at Harrisburg. T. Leo Dodd has been selected chairman of the executive committee for the Saline County Centennial observance.



Dr. Norman W. Caldwell spoke on Fort Wilkinson and the misadventures of General James Wilkinson at the May meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society at Anna. Another feature of this program was a paper on "Early Water Mills of Union County" by I. O. Karraker of Jonesboro.



Dr. Donald W. Riddle was the speaker at the annual meeting of the Stephenson County Historical Society in April. His topic was "The Settlement of Northern Illinois—the Prairie Pioneer." Harold K. Baltzer, president of the Society, presided, and J. Howard Swanzy introduced the speaker.



In April, the Swedish Historical Society heard Gert S. Meidell, an officer in the Norwegian Air Force who was stationed in England from 1940 to 1945. He showed moving pictures of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark and described travel conditions in those countries. Dr. Gost Moberg, Swedish explorer in Africa and South America, addressed the Society at Rockford in April.



The Swedish Pioneer Centennial Association has begun planning for the 1948 observance of the beginning of Swedish settlements in the Mississippi Valley. Dr. Conrad J. Bergendoff, president of Augustana College, is president of the Association, and Dr. C. G. Carlfelt, also of Augustana College, is corresponding secretary.

The feature of the March meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society was a program on the history of Grosse Pointe arranged by Mrs. Stanley Nelson, program chairman. At this meeting, the Society members were hosts to the Glencoe Historical Society.



We are continuing our policy of listing the new members of the Society. The following is a list of those who have joined the Illinois State Historical Society from January 1, 1947, through March 31. The present membership committee consists of: Jewell F. Stevens, Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, and Scerial Thompson.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Alfs, George.....Peoria, Ill. | Johnson, Capt. Joseph M.....Chicago, Ill. |
| Andrews, James H.....Kewanee, Ill. | Johnson, Mrs. Lawrence.....Chicago, Ill. |
| Armstrong, John H.....Ottawa, Ill. | Jones, Mrs. Charles L.....Greenville, Ill. |
| | Jones, Theodore.....Mulkeytown, Ill. |
| Abcock, Milton.....Lovington, Ill. | |
| Ball, E. F.....Hampshire, Ill. | Khinesmith, Arthur D.....Chicago, Ill. |
| Barnsback, Roy S., Jr.....Edwardsville, Ill. | |
| Becker, George H.....Red Bud, Ill. | Langlois, George.....Placerville, Calif. |
| Black, Mrs. Charles...Tarpon Springs, Fla. | Larson, Robert Henry...Dearborn, Mich. |
| Bowes, W. R.....Park Ridge, Ill. | Lewis, Donald F.....Edwardsville, Ill. |
| Brown, Dr. Leo.....Carbondale, Ill. | Loser, Mrs. Henry.....Deer Creek, Ill. |
| Burke, Mrs. Mabelle S.....Winnetka, Ill. | Lowry, Charles D.....White Plains, N. Y. |
| Burtschi, Joseph C.....Vandalia, Ill. | Lutes, Mrs. Robert K.....Belleville, Ill. |
| Byrne, Mrs. Georgia E.....Rockford, Ill. | |
| | Matchett, Mrs. David F.....Chicago, Ill. |
| Boisser, Mrs. Ila.....Eldorado, Ill. | Miller, Mrs. Stanley.....Yorkville, Ill. |
| | Murdock, Mrs. Helen.....Ottawa, Ill. |
| Bancey, Thomas B.....Dearborn, Mich. | |
| Bavison, Mrs. Hugh.....Champaign, Ill. | Nagler, Walther F.....Chicago, Ill. |
| Bennis, William A.....Paris, Ill. | Nancy, William H.....Champaign, Ill. |
| Beverlin, Dr. Joseph C.....Philadelphia, Pa. | Nichols, Eugene R.....Pontiac, Ill. |
| Bix, Ronald G.....Palos Park, Ill. | Noel, Celeste.....Harvey, Ill. |
| Bugger, Mrs. Roy G.....White Hall, Ill. | |
| | Perkins, Reed M.....Springfield, Ill. |
| Berguson, Nora Young.....Golconda, Ill. | Proctor, Romaine.....Springfield, Ill. |
| Boyd, Albert R.....Chicago, Ill. | |
| | Reed, Samuel Edward.....Bradford, Ill. |
| Balloway, Mrs. Cora E.....Ottawa, Ill. | Reiss, Mrs. Arthur.....Belleville, Ill. |
| Bascioigne, Arthur.....Chicago, Ill. | Rodgers, Eben.....Alton, Ill. |
| Bray, Blanche.....Mattoon, Ill. | Roney, Mrs. William Hanson..Mattoon, Ill. |
| Bridley, Marion E.....Chicago, Ill. | Russell, Nelson Vance.....Waukesha, Wis. |
| Briffin, U. H.....Streator, Ill. | |
| Brote, Mrs. Paul F., Sr.....Pittsfield, Ill. | Shepard, Mrs. Roger.....St. Paul, Minn. |
| | Sherman, Mrs. Frank J.....Peoria, Ill. |
| Barza, Zelma D.....Highland Park, Ill. | Shirley, Roy L.....Hopewell, N. J. |
| Benderson, W. T.....Danville, Ill. | Siron, M. Irene.....Rock Island, Ill. |
| Bell, Carlton.....Chicago, Ill. | Stout, Edward M.....Chicago, Ill. |
| Beller, Mr. & Mrs. William B..... | Swain, Mrs. Paul.....Benton, Ill. |
| | Swain, Timothy.....Peoria, Ill. |
| | |
| Bennens, Mrs. Fred W.....Sterling, Ill. | |
| | Thompson, Rev. T. Walter.....Urbana, Ill. |
| Bickson, Howard A.....West Union, Ill. | Thompson, Mrs. Wallace.....Galesburg, Ill. |
| Bobs, Royal W.....Pontiac, Ill. | Todd, John W.....Seattle, Wash. |
| Bred, Mrs. Grace Heminger.....Olney, Ill. | |

Walker, Mrs. J. H.....	Golconda, Ill.	Worthington, Morrison.....	Chicago, Ill.
Weber, Alois J.....	Keokuk, Iowa	Wrong, Kenneth.....	Toronto, Ontario
Wells, Charles C.....	Chicago, Ill.		
Woltzen, Adolph.....	Washburn, Ill.	Ziegler, Elmer.....	Sterling, Ill.

CONTRIBUTORS

Hubert G. Schmidt, winner of the first prize in the Alfred W. Stern contest for essays on Illinois or Illinoisans in the Civil War, is now assistant professor of history at the Newark Colleges of Rutgers University. . . . Virginius H. Chase is the great-grandson of Philander Chase. He is the curator and leader of the Botany Section of the Peoria Academy of Science. This paper was presented to members of the Illinois State Historical Society at Jubilee College State Park on October 5, 1946. . . . Waldo W. Braden is associate professor of speech at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. In 1942, he completed his doctoral dissertation at the University of Iowa with a study of the speaking of W. E. Borah. With some revisions, this is a part of his thesis. . . . The Rev. Edward J. Dowling S. J., is on the faculty of the University of Detroit. A graduate of Loyola University, Chicago, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1930 and was ordained a priest in 1940. He is a member of the Marine Historical Society of Detroit and presented this paper to that group in May, 1946. . . . Scerial Thompson, an attorney at Harrisburg, Illinois, is a director of the Illinois State Historical Society. He is secretary of the Saline County Historical Society, first vice-president of the Greater Egypt Association and active in planning for the Saline County Centennial celebration to be held this October.

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State of Illinois
DWIGHT H. GREEN, Governor

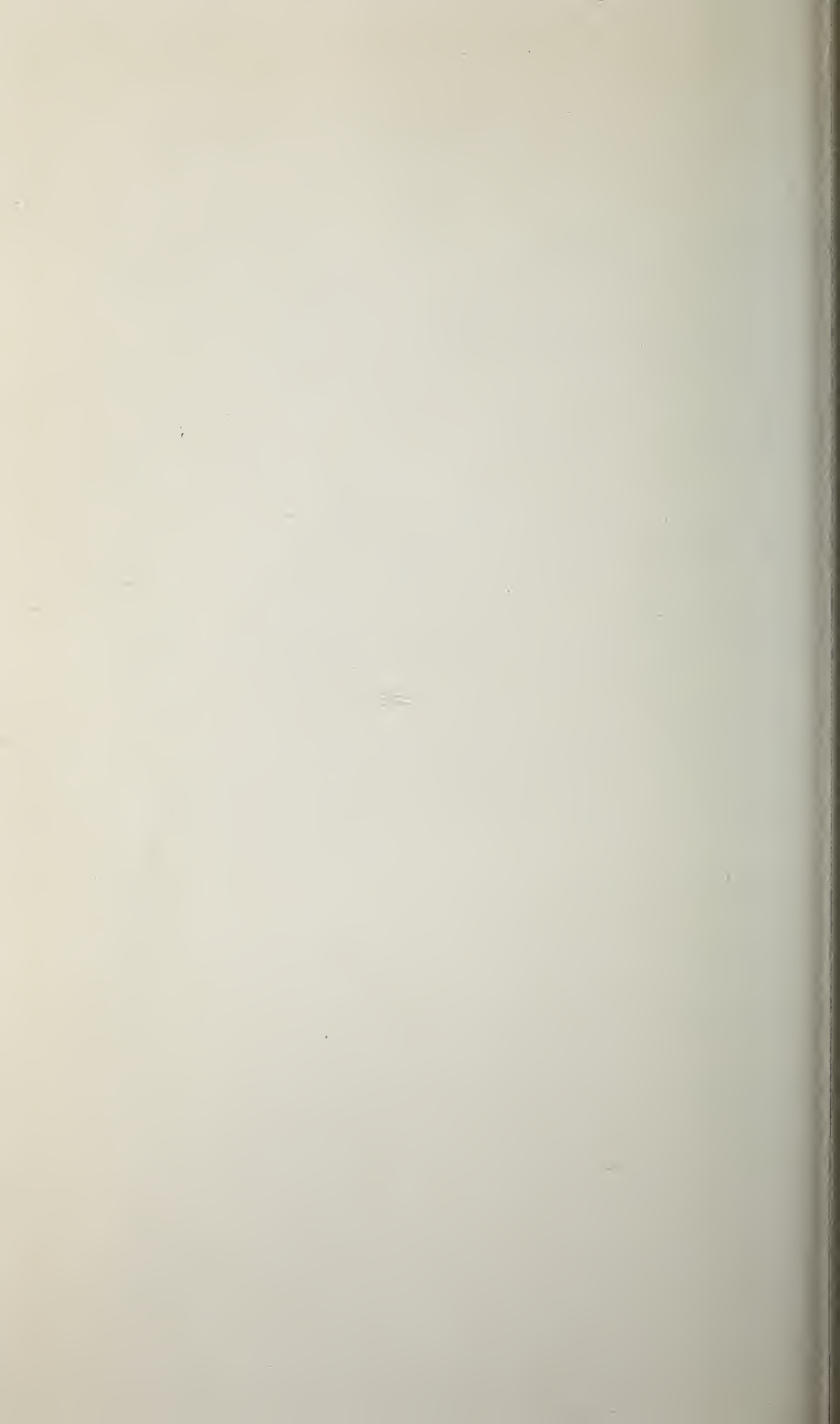
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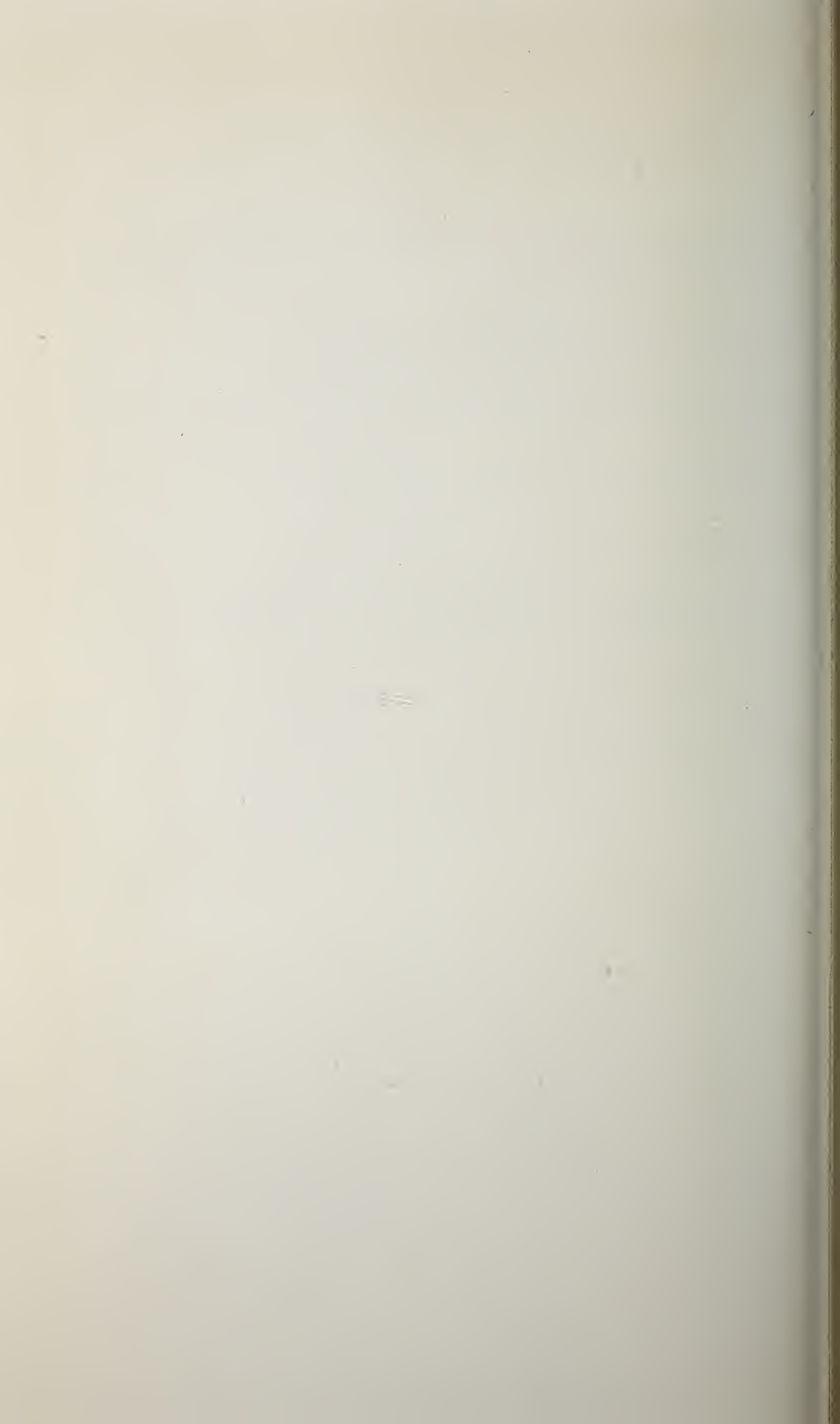
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MACMURRAY COLLEGE, JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS—SCIENCE HALL

"THE MORNING-STAR OF MEMORY"*

BY CLARENCE P. MCCLELLAND

MACMURRAY College in Jacksonville, Illinois, owes its origin to the passion for education which has always been characteristic of the Methodists. John Wesley as a master of arts of Oxford University. His father, his paternal grandfather, and his great-grandfather were also Oxford graduates. It was natural for this ecclesiastical genius to see the importance of schools in the Methodist movement—movement which had as its purpose the salvation of the common people of England, who, for the most part, were godless, churchless, ignorant, and degraded.

The Methodist church in America was organized in 1784. By 1846, the year of the founding of MacMurray College, there were under Methodist control in this country sixteen colleges and twenty-six secondary schools. In the celebration of our centennial, we should be ungrateful if we failed to record our debt to the Methodist church and particularly to the Illinois Annual Conference, not only for establishing this college as a unit in its ever-expanding educational program, but also for seeing so clearly the need of higher education for women at that time a new and questionable enterprise. For, be it remembered, in 1846 there were no colleges for women in the United States and none which would admit women, with the exception of Oberlin, which was just graduating four to the astonishment and dismay of even its friends. What made

* This address was delivered on October 10, 1946, the final day of the centennial celebration of MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois, by Clarence P. McClelland, president of the College.

Oberlin's departure from sound educational procedure particularly shocking was, that of these four women graduate one married the president of the college, another married one of the professors, and two married classmates. "Object Matrimony" seemed the obvious motive of these young ladies. At any rate, the record they made in matrimony is likely to be an all-time high for coeducation.

Even as late as 1846 it was quite generally believed that in intelligence women were inferior to men, and that it was unnecessary, even futile, to educate them beyond the three R's. There was no doubt in most people's minds as to the proper sphere of women—it was the home; and to be a good housekeeper and the mother of a series of children required nothing more than an elementary education.

But these frontier Methodists of central Illinois, little trammelled by tradition and filled with a sense of their responsibility to the great wave of population then overspreading the valley of the Mississippi, cast their lot enthusiastically with the reformers who were insisting that females could grasp to advantage the higher branches of learning. These men were busy establishing academies for girls in every state of the Union.

This educational reform, it is true, started in the East, but it moved westward so rapidly that it was in effect a simultaneous movement throughout the entire nation. Mount Holyoke, one of the very first seminaries for girls, began its work in 1837; but in central Illinois the Jacksonville Female Academy was started in 1833. There were a few earlier academies for girls in New England and the Middle States: the Emma Willard School in Troy, New York, in 1821; Catherine Beecher Female Seminary in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1823, and another which was opened at Derry, New Hampshire, by Zilpah Grant in 1824.

In 1842 the Methodists had opened an academy for girls in Cincinnati, which made good progress from the start.

When news of this successful venture reached the Methodist ministers of Illinois, they concluded that they should no longer postpone the establishment of a similar school within their own territory. At the session of the Illinois Annual Conference in Springfield, September, 1845, they voted unanimously to establish what was to be called the Illinois Conference Female Academy. It was to be located in Jacksonville. A year later, the board of trustees held its first meeting in that city. The date was October 10, 1846—just one hundred years ago today. This school was destined to have its name changed four times within its first century. In 1851 it became the Illinois Conference Female College, in 1863 the Illinois Female College, in 1899 the Illinois Woman's College, and in 1930 MacMurray College for Women.

It is a significant fact that the Illinois Conference Female College was neither planned nor administered by Easterners; rather it was indigenous to the Middle West. These frontier Methodists took matters into their own hands. They had been born here or had lived here for a large part of their lives; furthermore, they were leaders well known and respected throughout this whole area—men closely in touch with other leaders in business and political, as well as ecclesiastical affairs.

The first president of the board of trustees was Peter Cartwright, the most famous of the pioneer preachers. He was almost entirely lacking in formal education and in what Abraham Lincoln once called "the outside polish"¹ of a gentleman. Primarily, he was a rough, vigorous man of action, and yet he made a deep impression upon his generation and an important contribution to the development of the Middle West. E. S. Bates, in his article on Cartwright in *The Dictionary of American Biography*, says:

¹ From a speech of Lincoln's made in Springfield, Illinois, on July 17, 1858. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, c1905), III: 171.

His personality was almost perfectly adapted to the demands of frontier life. Early inured to physical hardship and to poverty, delighting in herculean labors, ruggedly honest and shrewdly humorous, indifferent to refinement of thought and manners, he made his Methodism a joyous battlefield against the devil and rival sects. Baptist, Presbyterian, and Shaker he overwhelmed with torrents of abuse, ridicule, and scorn.²

Cartwright was particularly violent in his attacks on Calvinists and Baptists, although he almost always spoke with a chuckle. He once remarked that "to hear the Baptists talk about water, you would think heaven was an island and you had to dive or swim to get there."

Cartwright's political activities are of interest. He was one of the representatives from Sangamon County in the General Assembly in 1828-29 and 1832-33. His political campaigning was filled with incidents as strange and humorous as those connected with his preaching, and these have obscured his serious and important work while in the legislature where he was one of the prominent members of that body.

His last attempt to wade what he called "the muddy waters of a political campaign" was made in 1846 when he was defeated for Congress by Abraham Lincoln. An incident is told of this campaign, in which Lincoln's wit was more than a match for Cartwright's. It occurred during a revival service at which Cartwright exhorted the congregation after this fashion: "Now, all who expect to go to Heaven, stand up!" Every person in the room stood up except one, who happened to be Lincoln. Cartwright could not resist the opening thus offered. Looking straight at Lincoln, he continued "Everybody present has signified his expectation of going to Heaven, except one. Would you mind, Mr. Lincoln, telling this congregation where you expect to go?" Lincoln, not a bit abashed, slowly arose in his place and, with characteristic drawl, replied: "Well, Brother Cartwright, if you really wan

² *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1929), III:547.

o know, I'll tell you. I'm going to Congress."³

Cartwright was a lifelong Democrat, early becoming an ardent follower of Andrew Jackson, who was his personal friend and a man after his own heart. In the spring of 1860, after the Democratic State Convention had enthusiastically endorsed the candidacy of Stephen A. Douglas for the presidency, Cartwright concluded a characteristic speech with these words: "Yes, my friends, for seventy long years, amid appalling difficulties and dangers, I have waged an incessant warfare against the world, the flesh, and the devil and all other enemies of the Democratic Party."⁴

But for all his roughness and lack of schooling, he was deeply interested in education. When a member of the state legislature, he introduced a bill to establish a "state seminary." That Cartwright, a preacher, and so active in promoting church schools, should have conceived such a state institution of learning and actually prepared and introduced a bill providing for it as early as 1832, indicates a breadth of outlook unusual among the ministers of his day.

Cartwright had a leading part in the founding of MacMurray College in 1846. His support was sought at the very beginning of the enterprise because it was felt that, unless he was in favor of the college, it could not even be started. He attended the meetings of the board of trustees faithfully and in many ways showed intense interest in the progress of the college. In 1861, when the indebtedness of the college was so great that it looked as though it would have to close, Cartwright contributed \$1,125 to save it. His annual salary at the time was but \$400.

But there were two Peters on the first board of trustees, and the other Peter should occupy as high a place in our regard as Peter Cartwright. He, of course, was Peter Akers, who

³ Many versions of this story may be found. For a slightly different account, see Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Years* (New York, 1926), I:336-37.

⁴ Helen Hardie Grant, *Peter Cartwright: Pioneer* (New York, 1931), 165.

was much more responsible than Cartwright for the founding of MacMurray College. He was the first to conceive the idea and was its chief advocate. Well educated, a lawyer at the time he was converted, no other Methodist minister in the western church was his equal in scholarship or eloquence, and in the East "only the renowned Stephen Olin was of his elevation." His son was a Methodist preacher, his grandson Presbyterian minister, and his great-grandson⁵ is at present the political editor of the *Chicago Sun* and a member of the board of trustees of our college.

In 1837, Akers preached a sermon near Springfield which was attended by a group of lawyers and politicians from the capital. In his sermon, Akers attacked the evils of slavery and predicted a civil war in the decade from 1860 to 1870. Lincoln was present and was deeply affected by the sermon. The story goes that Lincoln is said to have declared, "It was the most impressive sermon I ever heard. I believe it and wonder that God should have given such power to a man. The most wonderful thing to me was that somehow I became strangely mixed up with it."⁶ Later in his life, Peter Akers was presented, by a group of his fellow-ministers, with a cane to commemorate this occasion. This cane is still in the possession of the Akers family.

The first president of MacMurray College was James Frazier Jaquess. Unlike Cartwright and Akers, who were born in Kentucky, Jaquess was a native of the Middle West, having been born in 1819 in Posey County, Indiana. Like Akers, he had enjoyed the privilege of a higher education, an unusual privilege on the frontier. He received his bachelor of arts degree from Indiana Asbury University (now DePauw University).

⁵ Milburn Peter Akers.

⁶ This story has appeared in various forms, is widely told among Akers' church associates, and is related by some of the Lincoln biographers. For further information as to its authenticity, see T. Walter Johnson, "Peter Akers: Methodist Circuit Rider and Educator (1790-1886)," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4 (Dec., 1933), 433n.

ty) and the master of arts degree from McKendree College. Like Akers, he studied law and was admitted to the bar, but, just on the threshold of his legal career, he also felt the call to preach and entered the Methodist ministry. At the time he was elected president of the Female Academy he was only twenty-nine, but he had been the eminently successful pastor of the First Methodist Church in Springfield. Under his presidency the seminary prospered rapidly, increasing its enrollment and becoming well housed in a beautiful and substantial new building.

Jaquess was an intimate friend of Governor Richard Yates and President Lincoln. At the outset of the Civil War, he raised a regiment of soldiers, became its colonel, and saw much active service, particularly in the battles around Chattanooga. In 1864 he was entrusted by President Lincoln with an important diplomatic mission to Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy. He obtained from President Davis a statement of the war aims of the South. After the war, Jacquess was with the Freedman's Aid Bureau in the South, and from 1876 until his death in 1898 he was engaged in business, spending much of his time in England.

There is incontrovertible evidence that Abraham Lincoln was profoundly affected by the preaching of Colonel Jacquess. In an address delivered at the eleventh annual reunion of the survivors of his regiment, the Seventy-third Illinois Infantry Volunteers, Colonel Jacquess told the following incident:

The mention of Mr. Lincoln's name recalls to my mind an occurrence at perhaps I ought to mention. . . . I happen to know something on that subject [that is, Mr. Lincoln's religious sentiments] that very few persons know. My wife, who has been dead nearly two years, was the only witness of what I am going to state to you as having occurred. . . . I was standing at the parsonage door one Sunday morning, a beautiful morning in May, when a little boy came up to me and said: "Mr. Lincoln sent me around to see if you was going to preach today." Now, I had met Mr. Lincoln, but I never thought any more of Abe Lincoln than I did of any one else. I said to the boy: "You go back and tell Mr. Lin-

coln that if he will come to church he will see whether I am going to preach or not." The little fellow stood working his fingers and finally said: "Mr. Lincoln told me he would give me a quarter if I would find out whether you are going to preach." I did not want to rob the little fellow of his income, so I told him to tell Mr. Lincoln that I was going to try to preach. . . .

The church happened to be filled that morning. It was a good sized church, but on that day all the seats were filled. I had chosen for my text the words: "Ye must be born again," and during the course of my sermon I laid particular stress on the word "must." Mr. Lincoln came into the church after the service had commenced, and there being no vacant seats, chairs were put in the altar in front of the pulpit, and Mr. Lincoln and Governor French and wife sat in the altar during the entire service, Mr. Lincoln on my left and Governor French on my right and I noticed that Mr. Lincoln appeared to be deeply interested in the sermon. A few days after that Sunday Mr. Lincoln called on me and informed me that he had been greatly impressed with my remarks on Sunday and that he had come to talk to me further on the matter. I invited him in, and my wife and I talked and prayed with him for hours. Now I have seen persons converted; I have seen hundreds brought to Christ and if ever a person was converted, Abraham Lincoln was converted that night in my house. His wife was a Presbyterian, but from remarks he made to me he could not accept Calvinism. He never joined my church but I will always believe that since that night Abraham Lincoln lived and died a Christian gentleman.⁷

Time fails to speak of the other leaders who guided the institution in its early days. It is quite obvious that they regarded their college as a school for character which was inspired by religious faith and motivated by loyalty to Jesus Christ. However, let it be remembered today with satisfaction that those who administered and taught at MacMurray College, even at the beginning, were men of liberal mind. Any one of them might have been tried for heresy if the Methodists had been sticklers for doctrine. To indicate the liberal trend of thought in the college, here is a quotation from a letter written by Minerva Masters Vincent, a member of the class of 1855—and note that this was before Darwin published his *Origin of Species* in 1859:

⁷ Illinois Infantry. 73rd Regiment, 1862-1865, *Minutes of Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Reunion . . .* (1897), 30-31.

Many of the students were so bound up by the prejudices of traditional theology that when we learned that Geology taught that the six days of creation might mean ages upon ages, rather than six twenty-four hour days, great was the consternation. One girl sat upon her trunk declaring that she must and would go home if the foundations of belief in the Bible were to be thus shaken, thinking it was better to be ignorant than to lose faith in "the way the world was made." After much talking and several meetings to consider the subject, all was quieted down, and the school life went on. We came through our college life not only with an enlarged horizon, but with a stronger faith in God.⁸

And it is quite clear that the presidents and teachers in this college were never willing to substitute well-meaning piety for educational excellence. All the evidence assembled by Dr. Mary Watters in her painstaking and objective *History of MacMurray College*⁹ makes it plain that they were consistently conscientious in maintaining high academic standards. Thomas Woody, in his authoritative *History of Women's Education in the United States*,¹⁰ says that MacMurray College was one of two schools for women in the West of collegiate rank in the 1850's.

The course of study, as shown in the catalogue of that period, was a tough one. It must have been true of the girls who attempted it that, in the language used to describe the pioneers who crossed the plains on the Oregon Trail: "The cowardly never started, the weak fell by the way, only the strong survived." Latin, including Cicero, Virgil, and Sallust, was completed in the sophomore year. The following is the curriculum for the junior and senior years:¹¹

⁸ The quotation of Minerva Masters Vincent is from a letter of hers published in the *College Greetings* of April, 1899. The *Greetings* was a monthly publication of the College at that time.

⁹ Being published for the centennial of MacMurray College.

¹⁰ New York, 1929.

¹¹ More complete titles for the following textbooks are: Denison Olmsted, *An Introduction to Natural Philosophy* (New York, 1840); Charles Davies, *Elements of Analytical Geometry* (New York, 1851); Elijah H. Burritt, *The Geography of the Heavens and Class-book of Astronomy* (New York, 1853); Edward Hitchcock, *Elementary Geology* (New York, 1852); Thomas Gswell Upham, *Elements of Mental Philosophy* (New York, 1843); William Paley, *Natural Theology: or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity* (Boston, 1850); Archibald Alexander, *Evidences of the Authenticity, Inspiration, and Canonical Authority of the Holy Scriptures* (Philadelphia, 1836); Samuel Whelpley, *A Compendium of History from the Earliest Times* (New York, 1853); Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Moral Science* (Boston, 1852); Francis Wayland,

JUNIOR YEAR

First Term

French
 Natural Philosophy—Olmsted's Unabridged
 Analytical Geometry—Davies'
 Arithmetic reviewed

Second Term

French
 Natural Philosophy finished
 Astronomy—Burritt's
 Mineralogy and Geology—Hitchcock's

SENIOR YEAR

First Term

Mental Philosophy—Upham's
 Natural Theology—Paley's
 Evidences of Christianity—Alexander's
 Ancient and Modern History—Whelpley's Compendium

Second Term

Moral Science—Wayland's
 Political Economy—Wayland's
 Political Grammar—Mansfield's
 Rhetoric—Newman's
 Logic—Hedge's
 Criticism—Kames's

There is no time in this address even to outline the history of the college, although it seems particularly remiss not to write at least some of the achievements of the presidents who succeeded James Jaquess, all of whom were competent men and left their mark on their generation: Charles Adams (1858-1868) was a graduate of Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Connecticut, where he was the pupil of Wilbur Fisk. He also attended Bowdoin College (class of 1833), where Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was his teacher, and Andover Theological Seminary. William H. DeMotte (1868-1875), a graduate of Indiana Asbury University (now DePauw University), was a layman, the son of a circuit rider, a brilliant and skillful teacher and a Christian saint. William H. Short (1875-1893), a graduate of Illinois Wesleyan University, was one of the leading ministers of the Illinois Conference, a cultured, dignified, classical scholar who sought to develop the college along the lines of the newly established colleges for women in the East. Joseph R. Harker (1893-1925), the English immigrant coal miner, who began his secondary education in this count-

The Elements of Political Economy (Boston, 1849); Edward Deering Mansfield, *The Political Grammar of the United States* (Cincinnati, 1851); Samuel Phillips Newman, *A Practical System of Rhetoric* (New York, 1835); Levi Hedge, *Elements of Logick* (Cooperstown, 1848); Henry Kames, *Elements of Criticism* (New York, 1839).

not long before attaining his majority, finally received his degree from Illinois College and gave MacMurray College a brilliant administration for thirty-two years. He gained for the school full recognition from all the accrediting agencies as a standard college and laid a sure foundation for all that has been achieved since.

There is much that might profitably be said of the many men and women who have labored throughout the past one hundred years to make MacMurray a strong institution of liberal learning. In common with all middle-western colleges during the nineteenth century, the college suffered from the economic instability which characterized this section. There were periods when MacMurray's financial resources were very small, and debts were almost perennial. Sometimes the question was seriously raised whether it was worth while to keep the doors of the college open. Yet somehow the school survived. In recent years it has come into its own through a much more extensive patronage and the large gifts of James E. MacMurray, Annie Merner Pfeiffer, Mary Hardtner Blackstock, John Marshall Orr (class of 1913), Rae Lewis Kendall (class of 1899), and others. We must never fail to keep in remembrance the multitude of known and unknown friends throughout the century who have given money to the college, even to the point of sacrifice.

Of course, James E. MacMurray is in a class by himself as benefactor, the total of his gifts amounting to about four and one-half million dollars. The inspiring story of his service to the college I have told elsewhere. A superb man, typically American, intelligent, masterful, genial, and generous, he built himself an enduring monument on our campus. He deserves a high place of honor at this celebration.

And so we come to October 10, 1946. MacMurray College—its trustees, its administrative officers, its faculty, its students, its alumnae—faces the future with confidence and hope.

It believes that it is well equipped for the task that lies ahead. The college is now thought to be well endowed. Its endowment is relatively large, but should at least be doubled within the next twenty years. The physical plant seems adequate. Certainly it will be more nearly so when the Annie Merner Chapel and the new residence hall, for which we have the money, are completed.

The faculty deserves the highest praise. Their work is the most important of all. And if there is a more conscientious, more competent, or happier community of scholars anywhere, I cannot imagine it.

The number of students at MacMurray this fall is 77. It is not the policy of the college to seek a larger enrollment. The enrollment may increase, but it will increase slowly. No more will be accepted than can be accommodated or taught satisfactorily.

With regard to the curriculum: What studies should be included, and how should they be organized? What studies should predominate, and what should be required for admission? And what methods of teaching should be used? If Miss Constance Warren¹² is held to be considerably to the left and Miss Kathryn McHale¹³ somewhat to the right, then the educational policy of MacMurray College might be considered to be a little left of center.

That those who administered and taught in the first years of this college were right in emphasizing the importance of morality and religion, we at MacMurray do not doubt. We think it is our business to teach our students today what has been patiently and painfully learned through many centuries concerning man's moral nature and his responsibility to God. Particularly we believe that we must strive to impart a realistic

¹² Former president of Sarah Lawrence College.

¹³ Director general of the American Association of University Women. Both Miss Warren and Miss McHale participated in a symposium on higher education for women, Wednesday, October 9, 1946, in connection with the centennial celebration.

ion that Christian ethics are profoundly basic to our culture. This we try to do in a spirit of objective inquiry, without sectarian bias; but to neglect it is to miss our chance to prove the most valid claim that the small college has to an indispensable place in American education.

One hundred years ago Henry Thoreau said: "The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation."¹⁴ It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Thoreau's remark quite correctly describes the temper of many good men and women of our time. They feel bewildered, insecure, anxious, fearful, even desperate, as they face the future. We can be much more sympathetic with his mood than with what George Santayana calls "sophistical optimism." But how much better would be a renewed faith in that individualism which is the core of the Hellenic-Christian tradition and culture!

If men are pessimistic, is it not because they look within and fail to see a spiritual dignity which is unique and which marks each person as immeasurably higher than the beast of the field? Are they perchance missing what our progenitors appear to have seen quite clearly—namely, that humanity is just the individual writ large? Are they aware that, if they are spiritual beings, then so also are the many millions of other people on this planet? If the men and women who founded this college were correct, then each girl who ever studied here was of infinite value in her own individual right, and it was of the greatest importance to give her an opportunity to develop her intellectual and spiritual abilities to the utmost.

It never occurred to our founders that the human race, or any nation of men, possessed any high significance lacking in each individual person. This great illusion was reserved for the apostates of the twentieth century who are sure that the state is supreme—the ultimate source of intelligence and morality. Nor did it occur to them, as they looked out upon

¹⁴ *Walden*, chapter 1.

the mass of men, that because they could hardly distinguish one from the other among the millions of Chinese, Germans, Russians, and other nations and races, that therefore no individual person was of much account. That illusion, also, was reserved for the present generation.

The men who established this college estimated themselves highly as individuals. They believed that they were children of God with an immortal destiny. They also believed that others were like them, even beyond the borders of America, regardless of race, nation, class, creed, or color. They wanted everyone to have the opportunity which they had experienced, or a better one. They did what they could to provide it, and so they and their children and their children's children built churches and colleges here in Illinois and also in the Orient, in Africa, and on the islands of the sea.

Because there has been an upsurge of savage irrationalism, which has threatened to destroy the highest values of civilization, shall we forget the spiritual and intellectual achievements of the past? Shall we lose heart because we cannot have a perfect world all at once, or because there are problems—economic and international—which are difficult to understand and apparently insoluble?

One of the lessons which we may learn from one hundred years of continuous educational work in this college is that what we are doing is not only important but really essential to human progress. If we are true to the faith which is part of our Christian heritage, if we believe that man, while a part of nature, is a spiritual being, we may be sure that we are making a valuable contribution to the strengthening and the enriching of the world's democratic institutions and culture. Let us cultivate our gardens!

JAMES T. AYERS, CIVIL WAR RECRUITER *

BY JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

I

IN the score or more years immediately preceding the Civil War, Illinois was one of the important centers of debate over the question of slavery. Few states had within their borders so complete a cross section of sentiment for and against the "peculiar institution" as Illinois. The point of view ranged all the way from the strong and dynamic abolitionism of Elijah Lovejoy to the persistent and resourceful support of slavery typified in Dumas J. Van Deren.¹ Perhaps much more characteristic of the state were the views of those many citizens who could be found toward the center, between these two extremists, and who wanted "peace and union." Their anti-slavery sentiments, which were abundant, arose not so much from an appreciation of the moral issues involved as from a sense or feeling that slavery was a force that was eating the heart out of the body politic and destroying its unity. The ardent love of the citizens for the Union was one of the few things that the heterogeneous mass of the citizens of Illinois—immigrants, adventurers, speculators, missionaries, ne'er-do-wells—had in common. Love for the Union was an infectious

* This paper was awarded second prize in the Alfred W. Stern contest for essays on Illinois or Illinoisans in the Civil War. The essay awarded first prize was published in the June issue of the *Journal*. Ayers' diary has proved to be so unique and entertaining that the entire manuscript is being published in book form for distribution to all members of the Society.

¹ This stout-hearted editor (for a short time) of the *Mattoon Gazette* preferred the re-establishment of slavery in Illinois to the extension of political and social equality to Negroes.

sort of thing that spread through Illinois and rendered completely impotent any thought of state sovereignty or sectional selfishness. Both sides of the slave controversy were represented in Illinois, but practically all on both sides were together on the question of the relation of their state to the Union.

This early generation of Illinois' citizens had grown up with the state. They had come into this part of the Northwest Territory from neighboring areas—Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee. They represented in their lives the hopes and aspirations of a land so recently become a state in the Union. They had come to this new land to carve out a way of life for themselves—to make a fortune and to secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity.

A typical migrant into Illinois was James T. Ayers. Born in Germantown, Bracken County, Kentucky, on November 14, 1805, Ayers moved with his family to Madison County, Ohio, at some undetermined date.² He lived there until 1831, having married Rebecca Bloomer of Fayette County, Ohio, in 1825. In that same year Ayers began his ministry in the Methodist Episcopal church as a local preacher; and although he never devoted his time exclusively to the ministry, he maintained keen interest in the affairs of the church until his death.

In 1831, Ayers joined the veritable horde of people who were moving west at the time and migrated with his young wife to Illinois, settling in Tazewell County. He then began a career of farming that extended down to 1862. Later he lived in McLean and Livingston counties. Little is known of Ayers' education except that a later reference said he possessed "fine talents, was fairly educated and a natural orator."⁴ While Ayers was not highly trained in formal subjects, his remark-

² Records in the office of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois, Springfield.

³ *Portrait and Biographical Album of McLean County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1887), 294.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 295.

le discernment and insight into the nation's problems must have been the result of lifelong study and discipline.

The area in which Ayers lived in Illinois, and his religious connections, doubtless affected his attitudes and helped shape his philosophy of life. In the 1830's and 1840's antislavery sentiment was growing in that part of Illinois, and already antislavery societies were flourishing—for example, in 1841, one such society was organized in Tazewell County.⁵ The presence of such positive opposition to slavery must have had something to do with Ayers' growing hostility to the institution. Equally as important, perhaps, was the militant attitude which his church, dominated by the antislavery leader, Peter Cartwright, was taking. "The Methodist Church in Illinois prided itself on its solemn and earnest protest against the evil of slavery and pointed to its vigorous anti-fugitive slave law resolutions."⁶

Ayers' hatred for slavery, which had obviously crystallized before 1860, was part of a reforming zeal that was characteristic of the man. In this he reflected the spirit of America and especially that of his section in the Civil War era. He was the kind of idealist who believed in striving to attain a perfect America. He was, in this respect, a true product of his environment. It was not enough, from Ayers' point of view, to hate the institution of slavery in a passive manner. He felt compelled to translate this feeling into action by joining the growing movement for its abolition. His contempt for slavery was extended to the section and the persons who held slaves. On numerous occasions he spoke out against the South and her cause in bitter language which reflected a zeal for the Northern cause surpassed by few who fought on that side. On one occasion during the Civil War, he wrote:

⁵ Norman Dwight Harris, *The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois and of the Slavery Relation in that State, 1719-1864* (Chicago, 1904), 139.

⁶ Arthur C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870* (*The Centennial History of Illinois*, Springfield, 1919), 220.

Oh how nice and Comfortably might this Develish Rebellion and southern Revolt have been settled had men wished to do write had men been Disposed to do as they would be done by, or as the Saviour Cometh, as ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them for that is the Law and the Prophets. Had our Southern Brethren heeded the text of the Saviour there would have been none of this cursed war and blood shed now going on in our midst as at this day.⁷

As an enthusiastic Northerner, he had nothing but utter contempt for the South and its civilization. As he traveled through the South he got the impression that the whites had degenerated to the point where they were no more advanced than the slaves, and concluded that "its all nig down here. He did not even regard the South as a part of America, since in his opinion, it had drifted so far from American ideas. During the war he longed to return to Illinois where once more he could "embrace our friends and see oald America having been so long down Amidst those sour faced shea and hea Devils in Shape of Human form."⁹

It was slavery that aroused Ayers' greatest resentment toward the South. He constantly prayed for its abolition. He said:

Surely God is and will continue to Punish those miserable tirants and Soal killers for there sins. I feel glad in my heart the cursed thing is winking out and soon the idea of master and slave will be number. Among the things that was same as oald fashioned witchcraft Among the new Englanders in former day.¹⁰

He said that slavery had made the whites so "ignorant and stupid" that they could not live without it, and ventured the opinion that the Negroes could get along without their masters better than the masters could without their slaves.

Ayers cannot be referred to as a lover of Negroes, despite his contempt for the institution of slavery. In one instance when exasperated with a group of Negroes, he described the

⁷ From the diary of James T. Ayers, hereinafter referred to as the Diary. The pages are not numbered in the original manuscript.

⁸ Diary.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

as "so trifling and mean the[y] don't Deserve to be free." He was reasonable enough, however, to understand that slavery was the cause of the Negro's plight, and expressed the conviction that the Negro would prosper like any other free man if given an opportunity. On one occasion he said:

Those that have got out from under master are According to there Chance making good crops of Corn and Cotton and seem to be striving to do as best they can. . . . They are an ignorant people and how Could they be otherwise. We should perhaps be but Little better if plaiced in there Position. Educate them set good Examples before them. Let them know they are men and women and are A part and parcel of Gods Creation and feel Sambo will do tolerably well.¹¹

Ayers was as violently opposed to any kind of intimate association between whites and Negroes as any of his southern adversaries. When it was suggested that Negroes with freedom would mingle freely with whites, Ayers said:

Dam the niggers I would Rather Blow there Brains out than they should do this and so would I. No man would abhor the sight of A big black nigger leading my daughter or Any white mans Daughter Round than I and yet I think we have ungrounded fears.¹²

Ayers possessed a lively, lyrical spirit that made it possible for him to enjoy nature and the various seasons of the year. He loved to walk through the forests, to observe flowers, birds, and the like, and to write about them in the most romantic manner. The lofty height which his soul could reach inspired him, on occasions, to write verse which described his feelings. These poems justify the observation that this veteran of veterans had a song in his heart. The following stanzas from a song—of dubious literary value—written by him in April, 1863, are typical of his poetry:

South Tunnel here in Tennessee
Is as Strang A place as one Might see
Its up & down and down & up
From Deep Ravines to Mountain Top.

¹¹ Diary.

¹² *Ibid.*

The Rail Road Tunnel you must know
 It passes throug those Mountains here
 And if in Center you should be
 Its dark as Midnight Certainly

If all the people here was Write
 And Rebelism used up quiet
 The Last infernal tory shot
 And all the Torys Brought to naught

This place then would be paradise
 All nature seems in place so nice
 The Country fine as need to be
 The health they say is Tolerably.

When the war came, no one was more determined than Ayers to join in the fight and make a contribution to the victory to which he was certain the Union forces were entitled. One difficulty, his age, stood in the way. He was more than fifty-five when the war came and was, therefore, too old for combat duty. Not even his age, however, could prevent his enlistment. On September 8, 1862, he went to the county adj. joining the one in which he lived and was mustered into Company E of the 129th Illinois Infantry Regiment. Although he was approaching his fifty-seventh birthday, he gave his age as fifty. This dishonesty is suggestive of the extent of Ayers' determination to enter the service at any cost.

Ayers was not long with the 129th Infantry. In the summer of 1863, he began enlisting Negro soldiers under the authority of Andrew Johnson, the military governor of Tennessee; and in the late autumn, when the federal machinery for recruiting Negro soldiers was set up, Ayers received an early assignment in Nashville, Tennessee. It was as a recruiter of Negro soldiers from July, 1863, to October, 1864, that James T. Ayers made his most valuable contribution to the Union.

II

When hostilities broke out in the spring of 1861, Negroes all over the North hoped to enter the war on the side of the

Union and help in securing the freedom of their enslaved brothers in the South. Many of them, like Frederick Douglass, saw in this war the end of slavery" and their "interest in the success of the North was largely due to this belief." Negroes sought to enlist in the Union Army, but all during 1861 their efforts were in vain. Both the President and the Secretary of War were opposed to the use of Negro troops, and the War Department instructed the officers in the field even to refrain from taking slaves as contraband of war.¹³

It was not until the spring of 1862 that the Union government gave serious consideration to the matter of arming Negroes and using them in the struggle against the Confederacy. In May, 1862, General David Hunter sent out a call from Fort Royal, South Carolina, for Negroes to serve in the Union Army. Negroes responded, and shortly the "First South Carolina Volunteer Regiment" was activated. When criticized for his actions, General Hunter denied that he had acted beyond the authority given him by the Secretary of War, and contended that he was acting in the best interest of the Union cause.¹⁴ Lincoln was not ready, however, to place guns in the hands of Negroes, and not until the autumn of 1862 did he relax his policy with regard to arming Negroes.

With the issuance of the first Emancipation Proclamation in September, 1862, Lincoln began to tolerate the enlistment of Negroes in the Union Army. The reorganization of Hunter's regiment was under way in October, and on November 7, 1862, the first company was mustered. Meanwhile, other regiments of Negro soldiers were being organized in the North and in the South. Finally, "In December, 1862, General Augustus L. Wetlain assumed control of Negro volunteering in Tennessee,

¹³ The reasons which prompted the President and his assistants to pursue this course of action are too well known to require recounting here. For an extensive discussion see A. Shannon, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Cleveland, 1888), and George W. Williams, *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (New York, 1888).

¹⁴ Williams, *History of Negro Troops*, 90ff.

and thereafter the policy was definitely considered as a successful venture."¹⁵ When the Emancipation Proclamation became effective on January 1, 1863, the federal government adopted policy not only looking toward receiving slaves within its line but also recruiting Negroes to fight in what had become a war of liberation as well as a struggle to save the Union.

In the spring of 1863, the machinery for recruiting Negro soldiers in the South was set up by Adjutant General Loren Thomas, who, on March 25, was sent to the Mississippi River Valley to put it into operation.¹⁶ On May 22, 1863, a special bureau was established in the Adjutant General's office for the "conduct of all matters referring to the organization of Negro troops." General Order Number 143 established a detail of clerks and appointed a competent officer at the head of the new bureau. Several field officers were detailed to inspect the work of recruiting at various stations which were to be the headquarters for such work. Boards were to be convened to examine applicants for commissions to command colored troops. The order further stated:

No person shall be allowed to recruit for colored troops except specially authorized by the War Department; and no such authority will be given to persons who have not been examined and passed by a board, nor will such authority be given to any one person to raise more than one regiment.¹⁷

The reports of boards were to specify the grade of commission for which each candidate was fit, and authority to recruit was to be given in accordance. Recruiting stations and depots were to be established by the Adjutant General as circumstances required.

Another order, Number 144, issued on the same day, prescribed the rules for the guidance of boards in examining ap-

¹⁵ Fred A. Shannon, "The Federal Government and the Negro Soldier, 1861-1865," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XI, no. 4 (Oct., 1926), 574.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 575.

¹⁷ *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1899), hereinafter called *Official Records*, III ser., III: 215.

licants for commissions in regiments of colored troops. Each board was to sit daily except Sunday and was to report to the Adjutant General every week. Applicants were required to show that they were physically, mentally, and morally fit to command troops. The decisions and recommendations of the board were to be final and any applicant who was rejected was not to be re-examined.¹⁸

In October, 1863, the program for recruiting Negro soldiers was further organized by the establishment of recruiting stations in Maryland, Tennessee, and Missouri. Tennessee was already in process of being reconstructed under Andrew Johnson, who had set up a program for recruiting Negro soldiers. At this time, moreover, the government could act with greater decision with regard to the border states, since the danger of their secession was no longer imminent. The order provided that all able-bodied Negroes were eligible for military employment. Where loyal masters consented to the enlistment of their slaves, the masters were to receive \$300 for each one. It further provided that if a sufficient number of recruits should not be obtained within thirty days after the opening of the recruiting station, slaves could be taken without obtaining the consent of loyal owners.¹⁹

In setting up and perfecting the machinery for the recruiting and processing of Negro soldiers, the federal government established a system that was to grow in importance in the maintenance of a citizen army with each passing year. It is interesting to observe that no such system was employed for the recruiting of white soldiers during the Civil War. As Professor Shannon has correctly pointed out, the government showed more wisdom in dealing with Negro soldiers than with the whites. It was possible to engage in considerable experimentation in recruiting Negro soldiers in the South, because state

¹⁸ *Official Records*, III ser., III: 216.

¹⁹ Williams, *History of Negro Troops*, 115; *Official Records*, III ser., III: 1178-79.

pride did not have to be considered and "national authority could assert itself with but little hindrance."²⁰

In pursuance of the order of October 13, 1863, establishing recruiting stations in Tennessee, an office was opened in Nashville with George L. Stearns of Medford, Massachusetts as commissioner for the organization of United States colored troops. He was given the rank of major with the powers of an assistant adjutant general. Upon finding that Negro troops were being used at the front for fatigue duty, Major Stearns, a former abolitionist who had fought with John Brown in Kansas, protested this action and advised that Negro troops be put in camps of instruction and prepared for the duties of the field. He and Governor Johnson could not agree on the disposition of Negro troops; and when the Secretary of War sustained the Governor, Major Stearns resigned.²¹ Captain D. Mussey was placed in temporary command in December 1863. On February 6, 1864, Brigadier General Augustus V. Chetlain was assigned to command all colored troops in Tennessee, with headquarters at Memphis.²² Three days later, Captain Mussey was charged with the organization of Negro troops in middle and east Tennessee, with headquarters in Nashville.²³

By the end of 1863, the recruiting of Negro troops had progressed to the point that on December 24, the Adjutant General could make the following report to the Secretary of War:

The majority of the freedmen manifest a partiality for the military service, and are undoubtedly happy and contented in their position in the army. . . . I expect very soon to proceed to Nashville and points covered by Major-General Grant's army and give my personal attention to the organization of colored troops in that section of the country. It is to be presumed that as our armies advance the number of our colored organizations will be largely increased.

²⁰ *Journal of Negro History*, Oct., 1926, 575.

²¹ Williams, *History of Negro Troops*, 120ff.; *Official Records*, III ser., IV: 90.

²² Williams, *History of Negro Troops*, 125.

²³ *Official Records*, III ser., IV: 90.

Concerning recruiters, the Adjutant General had this to say:

None but intelligent officers and enlisted men from the regular and volunteer service have been detached from their regiments for the purpose of raising colored troops. All have worked faithfully in the cause, and if not quite as successfully as might have been anticipated, it has not been for the want of perseverance.²⁴

Just as this machinery for the recruiting of Negro troops was being perfected, James T. Ayers was engaged as one of the recruiters to work out of Captain Mussey's office at Nashville. It will be recalled that he had already worked in the summer of 1863 as a recruiter under Governor Johnson's plan. In Gallatin, Tennessee, in July, 1863, Ayers had enrolled more than two hundred men, and was enthusiastic over the prospects of enlisting more. Doubtless it was this experience and the contacts he made that commended him to the federal authorities late in 1863.

Ayers was most enthusiastic over the decision of the Lincoln administration to use Negroes as soldiers in the Civil War. Doubtless he realized that the Union needed additional fighting men, and perhaps he was also of the opinion that the Negro would make a good soldier. It seems, however, that his greatest satisfaction came from the humiliation which he knew the South would suffer in meeting its former slaves on the field of battle. In writing of the untenable position of the South, he said: "As they waged war on us About the Nigger, why, in Gods name give them [the] nigger; and on this wise you know the oald Adage is that the Hair of the dog is good for the bite."²⁵ He made his whole position on the use of Negro soldiers clear when he said:

Niggers to fight such Demons and Devils with, Niggers to Cure the bite, Nigger wool to cure Traitorism, Nigger Powder and Lead seasoned with the Amansipation Proclamation garded and Protected in the hands of A wise and good Administraction, handled by Sambo, at the Britch of

²⁴ *Official Records*, III ser., III: 1191.

²⁵ *Diary*.

A good musket, surely is a plaster good enough for traitors. . . . oh say some you must not arm the Nigger, it will degrade us, Says another, "I would not fight by a nigger." Well I believe that Jake. . . . you did not intend to fight Any how. . . . I would Rather twice toald chance the black than the white nigger [draft dodgers and Copperheads], and of the two the Black is the best. . . . Never Cease giving Pills, no matter who ishues the dose, white or black, of Powder and Lead till traitors are subdued And not only subdued, but Effectually so.²⁶

On Christmas Day, 1863, Ayers received his appointment, with the rank of a private, as a recruiter of colored troops, and, fortunately, he began to keep a diary on that day. He was sent to Stevenson, Alabama, to work out of the office there, headed by Captain William F. Wheeler.²⁷ By the first of the new year, Ayers had presented his credentials and received his authority to recruit Negro soldiers in the Tennessee Valley section of Alabama, in such towns as Bridgeport, Triana, Decatur, Huntsville, and Stevenson. All the zeal that had earlier gone into his work as farmer, local preacher, and antislavery Republican was now directed into the channel of luring freed Negroes into the ranks of the Union Army.

Ayers' methods were presumably typical of those used by other recruiters, and therefore merit some consideration. After a town had been taken by the Union forces, Ayers would move in and proceed to enlist Negro recruits. He would nail up attractive posters provided by the Adjutant General's office and then would announce a meeting at which he would speak. If he succeeded in assembling a number of Negroes, he would appeal to them along two lines. In the first place, he would impress on his hearers the importance of getting into the fight in order to extend the blessings of liberty to their more unfortunate brothers who were still enslaved. Then, he would tell them that the ten dollars per month, food, and clothing would give them some semblance of security and independence.

Recruiting in rural areas was somewhat more difficult

²⁶ Diary.

²⁷ It has been impossible to identify William F. Wheeler as an Army officer.

yers was compelled to go from plantation to plantation, and frequently he bore the first news of emancipation to each the slaves. For example, when he arrived at the Eldridge plantation near Huntsville, Alabama, in May, 1864, the slaves told him that they had not heard of the Emancipation proclamation. Almost always he met the stern resistance of white men or women who branded him as an inciter of trouble and one who interfered with the peace and happiness of the slaves. Ayers was not perturbed by the opposition of the white masters, and went about his job, for the most part, as though they did not exist. On one Alabama plantation, where he was searching for a Negro who had promised to join the Army but who had apparently lost his enthusiasm for the Union cause, the slave's mistress had hidden him. When Ayers demanded the Negro, a long argument ensued between the recruiter and the woman. She told him that it was wicked for the North to take her slaves, while Ayers countered with the assertion that slavery itself was wicked. Both resorted to the Bible to bolster their arguments, and Ayers confessed to his diary that he was so impressed by her intelligence and her charm that he forgot about his recruiting. The arguments were not always so pleasant. On another occasion, after a heated dispute with a woman concerning slavery, the woman sought to end the discussion by saying, "I want you ways to know sir I hait you in my verry Hart." Ayers was tempted to call her by several unfavorable names, but he merely said, "You are a disgrace to the sects [sex]. Shame on you Siss." He then ordered her into the house and signed up four Negroes for the Fifteenth Tennessee Colored Regiment.²⁸

Despite Ayers' efforts, he was not altogether satisfied with the results. Not only was there the opposition offered by the white civilians in the areas where he worked, but there also seemed to be a surprising lack of interest on the part of the

²⁸ Diary.

Negroes with whom he talked. At times Ayers became completely bewildered as to how to entice Negroes into the Army. On one such occasion, he penned the following lines:

The Recruiting business Let me say,
it keeps me busy every day,
A man that cannot Learn while he,
Recruits for Darkies must ignorant be.
(So think I at least.)²⁹

In September, 1864, Ayers said, "I keep geathering the Bo in slowly But I want to get Away from here as soon as I can. Ayers particularly disliked the lack of enthusiasm among the Negroes for entering the Army. He complained that they offered all kinds of excuses, physical disability and otherwise. "I am Hartily sick of hearing them any more and hope to g Dismissed from this Recruiting business," he wrote. But he concluded, "perhaps I have in this way been of more service to my Country than in Any other way I could have been employed, so all write."³⁰

Apparently, the Secretary of War was not satisfied with the progress of the program of recruiting Negro troops. On February 5, 1864, he wired the Adjutant General, then in Nashville, and made inquiries concerning the program. In part, he said:

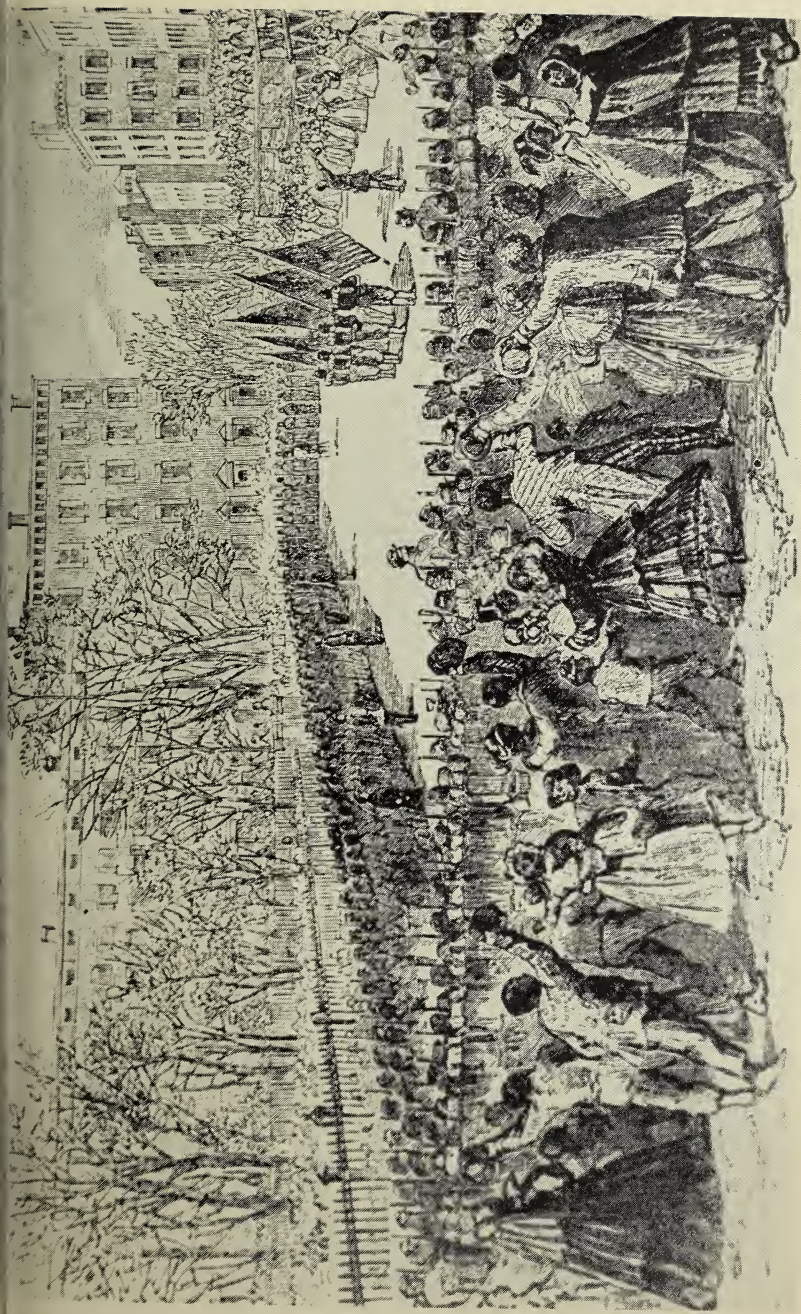
I wish you would send me by telegraph a statement of the whole number of colored troops organized, so far as you have information. Some clamor is being raised at the lack of energy and industry on the subject.

General Thomas dispatched the following reply:

The whole number of colored troops organized and mustered in service in Middle and East Tennessee will number 7,500. In addition General Dodge, at Pulaski, has a third regiment nearly full. I now intend to enlist the able-bodied negroes in the employ of loyal citizens. . . The people of Tennessee appreciate the views of the Administration, and beyond doubt the recruiting of colored troops in this section will pro

²⁹ Diary.

³⁰ *Ibid.*



From Joseph T. Wilson, The Black Phalanx (Hartford, Conn., 1888), p. 377.

COLORED REGIMENT RECEIVING ITS FLAGS.



minently successful.³¹

The recruiting in the spring of 1864 was slow in Tennessee and Alabama. Some of the obstacles which recruiters faced were beyond their power to remove. One, for example, was the opposition of the generals of the Union Army, who feared that the wholesale enlistment of Negroes would take away an important supply of black civilian labor that was being utilized in connection with encampments, the setting up of barracks, and the like. General Sherman was so incensed over the interference with Negro civilian laborers by recruiting officers that he issued an order blocking such activities. In part, the order, dated June 3, 1864, stated:

I. Recruiting officers will not enlist as soldiers any negroes who are profitably employed by any of the army departments, and any staff officer having a negro employed in useful labor on account of the Government will refuse to release him from his employment by virtue of a supposed enlistment as a soldier.

II. Commanding officers of the military posts will arrest, and, if needed be, imprison any recruiting officer who, to make up companies of negro soldiers, interferes with the necessary gangs of hired negroes in the employment of the quartermaster's or commissary or other department of the Government without the full consent of the officers having them in charge.³²

This order by General Sherman greatly disturbed Adjutant General Thomas, who expressed his point of view to the Secretary of War in the following communication:

I have just been shown the inclosed order of Major-General Sherman, which . . . I conceive, will stop enlistments from the colored men coming into his army. I consider the threat of imprisonment to recruiting officers especially harsh. Far better to enlist the negroes, and let them perform their fair share of labor and fatigue duty, than keep them at hard labor—in many instances greater than they were subjected to by their former owners.³³

³¹ *Official Records*, III ser., IV: 79, 85-86. It was perhaps this communication from Stanton that prompted Gen. Thomas to appoint Gen. Chetlain to recruit in west Tennessee and Lt. Mussey in middle and east Tennessee.

³² *Ibid.*, 434.

³³ *Ibid.*, 433-34.

After an exchange of letters between Sherman and Thomas, the former rescinded his order against the enlistment of Negro soldiers, offering the suggestion that recruiting should be done in a purposeful and orderly manner, giving full protection to the Negroes who enlisted.³⁴ Although the matter was apparently cleared up, Sherman's counter order of June 26 did not reach his subordinate officers promptly. In September Ayers recorded in his diary that he was arrested on a charge of kidnapping Negroes and sent under guard to Huntsville by order of General Gordon Granger. Fortunately however, he was released by showing his own papers and presenting a letter from Colonel R. D. Mussey, out of whose office he was recruiting.³⁵

One of the things that irritated the generals in the field was the haphazard enlisting of Negroes for new regiments before old regiments had been completely filled. This procedure taxed the army to supply an unnecessary number of officers for the new contingents. The commanding officers were, therefore, pleased with the proposal to prevent such action. Major General George H. Thomas, commanding officer of the United States Volunteers, wrote to the Adjutant General on August 9, 1864, as follows:

I would respectfully call your attention to the following facts and suggestions relative to the U. S. colored infantry service and the plan adopted and pursued by Col. R. D. Mussey, superintendent for organization of colored troops, *i.e.*, that of the formation of new regiments exclusively, to the neglect and prohibition of securing recruits for regiments already in existence, and which have not reached the maximum of their organization.

By the formation of new regiments the army is called upon to furnish officers necessary to the efficiency of such organization, and thereby unnecessarily depriving commands already in the field of their officers or else taking from the ranks men whose services can ill be spared whereas by the filling up of those regiments already in existence and fully officered this drain upon the army would be removed.³⁶

³⁴ *Official Records*, III ser., IV: 436.

³⁵ *Diary*.

³⁶ *Official Records*, III ser., IV: 595-96.

The commanding officer of the volunteers then asked that Colonel Mussey be instructed to fill up existing regiments before starting others, and there are indications that Colonel Mussey proceeded to pursue such a course of action.

On October 10, 1864, Colonel Mussey made an extensive report to Major C. W. Foster, chief of the Colored Bureau in the Adjutant General's office. In this communication, Colonel Mussey said that he thought it inadvisable to begin other Negro regiments after those begun had been completed. Although Negroes were still enlisting, they were not doing so "in such numbers as to warrant the formation of new regiments." He then set forth his plan for the reorganization of the recruiting program in the area under his jurisdiction. It called for all colored recruiting to be placed under the control of one person. "As it is," he said, "there are recruiting parties from the old regiments of whose whereabouts, operations, and success I know nothing, unless they stumble into some place where I have parties recruiting for the new regiments." Colonel Mussey then proposed to have all recruits sent to Nashville "for examination, enlistment, and some drill before they are sent to the commands for which they are enlisted."

A significant item in the Colonel's proposals was the use of Negroes to assist in recruiting. He said:

To make recruiting successful here an armed force of one regiment or more is necessary. . . . Wherever we have been able to send a force of, say, 80 or 100 men for a few days into the country, we have always got men, and the good conduct of the men upon such scouts has left a favorable impression upon the people.

Finally, Colonel Mussey asserted that recruits should be given some assurance that their families would not suffer from the abuse of "disloyal owners whom they have left to enlist."³⁷

Although Ayers had by this time been relieved of his duties as a recruiter, he had earlier pursued much of the policy

³⁷ *Official Records*, III ser., IV: 770.

advocated by Colonel Mussey. On July 26, 1864, ten armed Negroes from Nashville arrived at Huntsville to assist Ayers with his recruiting.³⁸ He frequently spoke of the salutary effect that such a policy had on Negro prospects. Ayers did all he could, moreover, to assure the families of recruits that they would be protected by the Union Army if their men went away to fight.

In reviewing the recruiting of Negro soldiers in northern Alabama, Ayers' area of operation, Colonel Mussey described it as eminently successful. He said that "some 300 were obtained for the Seventeenth U. S. Colored Infantry," and that frequently slaves ran away from their owners to enlist.³⁹

Progress in recruiting was not satisfactory to Ayers, however. In the middle of September, 1864, Ayers complained, "I am so tired of nigger Recruiting I am going as soon as A train goes through to Nashville to Resign and Go back to my Regiment or try."⁴⁰ Early in October he went to Nashville and resigned his position. Several things prompted Ayers to take this step. In the first place, his zeal was so great that any failure to secure recruits discouraged him greatly. As a matter of fact, he did encounter many Negroes who were not interested in joining the Army and remained unaffected by his various persuasions. Furthermore, Ayers was never in a position to see the results of recruiting as a whole, and therefore concluded that it was a failure and not worth his time. Then, too, by the early autumn of 1864, Ayers was more interested in the presidential campaign than in anything else. He spent his spare moments writing campaign poetry and songs, and recorded in his diary that it would be a national calamity if Lincoln were not re-elected. In Ayers' mind, everything was of secondary importance to the re-election of Lincoln. Finally, Ayers' health was not good. He was fifty-nine years old, and frequently complained of

³⁸ Diary.

³⁹ *Official Records*, III ser., IV: 768.

⁴⁰ Diary.

umber of ailments. He felt that "ranging around" looking for "nigger recruits" who were disinterested was too strenuous for a man in feeble health. He longed to return to his regiment and carry on his religious meetings around the campfire with the men he knew and loved.

The recruiting of Negro troops in territory lately occupied by the Confederates was unquestionably a success. Of the 186,017 Negroes who served in the Union Army, 104,387 were recruited in Confederate territory. In the area where Ayers worked, Tennessee furnished 20,133 Negro troops, while Alabama provided 4,969.⁴¹ In working as diligently as he did to recruit Negro troops, Ayers made a significant contribution to the success of the Northern cause, for the Negroes whom he and others enlisted proved of inestimable value. An authority on the organization of the Union Army has observed that:

They were more accustomed to obedience to orders than were the white men. What they lacked in individual initiative . . . they made up for by the superior training they received from their better selected officers. . . . Courage was of necessity most prominent among negro privates and their officers. Orders such as that of Kirby Smith [a Confederate officer] . . . that armed negroes and their officers should be given no quarter, not only made it an especially courageous thing to enlist in the command a negro regiment but were also conducive to the bravest of fighting when in close quarters.⁴²

The program of recruiting Negroes is significant, not only because it provided the North with much-needed manpower, but also because it established for the federal government the machinery of recruitment that was to be used from that day to this. The techniques and approaches which were conceived and developed to entice Negroes into the Army from 1863 to 1865 are, with some modifications, the techniques and

⁴¹ *Official Records*, III ser., V: 662. Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), 88, claims that many Negroes who enlisted in northern Alabama were credited to Northern states. Instead of the official figure of 4,969, he claims that a conservative estimate of the Negroes who enlisted from Alabama would be near 10,000. By order of the Provost Marshal General, James B. Fry, the recruiting of Negroes was stopped on April 1865. *Official Records*, III ser., IV: 1282.

⁴² Shannon, *Organization of the Union Army*, II:162-63. Williams, *History of Negro Troops*, contains many examples of the Negro's gallantry during the war.

approaches used today. In carrying forward this program Ayers and his fellows made important contributions to the organization and administration of the Army of the United States.

III

After Ayers was relieved of his task as a recruiting agent for Negro soldiers, he proceeded to rejoin his old outfit, the 129th Illinois Volunteer Regiment, to which he remained attached until the end of the war. But it was October, 1862 when he was transferred; and the election of Lincoln was Ayers' greatest immediate concern. Throughout the war year he had held nothing but contempt for the anti-Lincoln forces in the North, and he thought that their advocacy of "appeasement" unduly hampered a vigorous prosecution of the war. He even contended that men like Clement L. Vallandigham, Daniel Voorhees, and Don Carlos Buell had promised help to the South, an act of comfort that caused the South to continue to hope for victory. He wrote:

But if those Peace Candidates are Defeated this fall, the thing will be settled in my opinion for surely they the south know well as we do even better that they cant hold out four years more. . . . All in the world that has made this war Linger thus far has been this Howl in the North by this Peace Party. If they are handsomely beaten this fall A settlement will be made.⁴³

The possibility of a victory for the Democrats haunted Ayers like a nightmare. He cordially despised General McClellan and all his supporters. On a note of despair he said, "If this Peace party does prevail we are all gon to the Devil head long sure and certain in my mind. God forbid they should prevail."⁴⁴

In a lengthy poem Ayers gave vent to his deepest antipathy for the Northern Democrats, whom he and others contemptuously called Copperheads. He was certain that they pursued their policy of appeasement because they did not ha-

⁴³ Diary.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

the courage to fight. In this poem of twelve stanzas he proposed that all Copperheads should be brought into the Army, placed in the front lines, and given a taste of what the supporters of the Union had gone through every day. After proposing that they be subjected to cold, hunger, filth, injury, and every conceivable inconvenience, he concluded:

And finally in A Hospital minas A leg or so
Somewhat ematiated and most dredfully low
We'll Lay whats Left of Copperhead upon A dirty bunk
To Regain his waisted energies on weak tea and tough junk.

To the Call of uncle Abraham we Cherfully all flew
Severed the tyes which bound our Harts bade cherished ones adieu
And we will not brook the insults which are heaped upon our heads
By the traitorous northern Cowards the Slimy Copperheads.⁴⁵

Ayers spent the remainder of the month of October arranging for a twenty-day furlough and journey to Illinois where he could cast his vote. On October 28, he left Nashville and proceeded home, where, he said: "My vote will be cast for I live for Father Abraham For President and Andy for vice President and Oglesby⁴⁶ for Govenor and in short my vote will be Union all through sure as life."⁴⁷ During the time that Ayers was waiting for transportation to Illinois he wrote a campaign song of which two stanzas and chorus follow:

The Rebs have Tramped down our fields
Destroyed our walls and Ditches
But Abe Can build our fence Again
And Andy mend the Breeches

Chorus

Lincon is the man we need
Johnson two is handy
Yanky doodle Boys hurrah
For Uncle Abe and Andy

.

⁴⁵ Diary.

⁴⁶ Major General Richard J. Oglesby of Decatur, Illinois, had distinguished himself as military leader in the early days of the war. As chairman, in 1861, of the state senate committee for the reorganization of the militia, he predicted that with the war at hand "the whole country . . . would rise *en masse*, and . . . volunteer their services . . . speedily and without delay." Cole, *Era of the Civil War*, 273, 328.

⁴⁷ Diary.

We'll have a man for President
Whose Courage never fails him
That Common sense which built the fence
Is just the thing that Ails him.⁴⁸

The visit home was not altogether a happy one because of the critical illness of Ayers' daughter, Mrs. John Warick. He secured an extension of his furlough and was still in Illinois when he learned of the re-election of Lincoln. He was overjoyed and showed it clearly in what he recorded in his diary

We have Just got the Glorious news that Lincoln is Elected President By an overwhelming Majority, Leaving Pore Little Mack far in the Rear and as harmless to us now as he was to the Rebs when he was snugly stowed Away on the Gunboat. Pore little feller, we'll ask him in when we want him.⁴⁹

At the end of December, Ayers left Fairbury, Illinois, and returned to Nashville, where he was promptly dispatched to his old regiment, which was on the southeastern seaboard. He was routed through New York and by steamer to Savannah, Georgia. Ayers detested the city of New York and referred to it as "A place I never want to see Again while I Remain in the flesh." Accommodations for the soldiers were especially poor, and Castle William, where Ayers was quartered, was "nee deep or Less in Dirt and filth and Stunk worse than A desent hog pen, beside Graybacks thick as hale and Large Enoughf for oxen had they been yoked up." He viewed the city as containing the worst elements in the nation's population, including "those bounty Jumpers and Conscripts, and Rakings of all Gods creation." He was quick to ascribe the city's degeneracy to the presence of large numbers of Copperheads, and blamed them for the draft riots of 1863 and the poor accommodations for soldiers during his stay there. He took one last thrust at the city by summing up his attitude in the following statement:

⁴⁸ Diary.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Well long have I herd of the great Citty of New York but if what saw and indured thare is Anything of A fair Specimen of her Common Hospitality and Refinement I hope to be Excused. One would Suppose that so great a Citty as this would and Could have fed Housed and taken better Care of A Small handfull of war worn veteran western soaldiers, but Alass for her She is so full of Poison Like Snakes in Dogdays she seems to have Lost all feelings of Decency and Common Humanity, and her Snakeship only thinks of Bountys, Bounty Jumping McClelling Copperheadism, and Valan Digam Thunder Hammer toryism or some kind of Devilism. Well New York Thou great Citty of Harlots, tho thou exalt thyself up to Heaven thou shalt be thrust down to Hell.⁵⁰

The trip from New York to Savannah was Ayers' first ocean voyage and he was thrilled with the experience, despite the storms that tossed the ship until almost everyone was seasick. The description that he gave was vivid, indeed.

While on this great Water tossing from side to side, Sea Roaring, winds Howling, wave surging, foam boiling, men heaving and vomiting, Captain giving orders, Sailors flying from post to Post to obey orders, could but think of Moses Account of the mighty flood, and Says Moses, the Fountains of the Great Deep ware broken up and the windows of heaven ware opened."⁵¹

Ayers' joy upon returning to his regiment was inexpressible, and he immediately resumed his place among his men. He was perfectly contented sitting around the campfire, listening to the experiences of the men during the many months he had been away from them, and "sipping Away at our Hot Coffee mixing up A little Hard tack and sowbelly." He was especially happy to see the men in such excellent spirits, and observed that there was a noticeable decline in profanity and vulgarity among them. He performed many of the functions of a chaplain, although he was not officially designated as one.⁵² He had engaged in that type of work before he left his regiment, and while he recruited Negro soldiers he seems to

⁵⁰ Diary.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² On Feb. 25, 1865, for example, Ayers, at the request of his commanding officer, conducted the funeral of one of the men in his convalescent corps. Ayers said, "I made some Remarks then sung 'and must I be to Judgement brought,' prayed with the Soldiers and we Pled the Earth upon Earth and Left our Strange Brother Soldier to take his Rest far here in the South." Diary.

have prayed and preached to soldiers whenever the opportunity presented itself. In January, 1865, he organized a lecture and encouraged the men to hold debates several evenings each week.

He was more interested, however, in purely religious exercises; and at the first opportunity he began to serve the men by conducting such meetings. As his regiment made its way up to Georgia and the Carolinas as a part of the rearguard of Sherman's army, Ayers conducted religious services regularly. He was especially anxious to prepare the men for their return to civilian life as he saw the war coming to a close. On March 19, 1865, he spoke at a "glorious good meeting" in Charleston, South Carolina, "from these words: And when he was yet a great way off his Father saw him and ran and fell on his neck and embraced and kissed his son." It seems to have been an appropriate text, and, according to Ayers, it had a "powerful effect. God bless the Effort and Convert the Boys is my prayer for Jesus Sake." Ayers was encouraged in his work by the interest which the men displayed. On one evening more than twenty came forward and solicited his prayers. The veteran soldier was again moved to utter a prayer: "Oh how I wish I was more gifted and had more grace so I might be more useful. Lord give me wisdom."⁵³

As in most of his undertakings, Ayers expressed his feelings concerning the religious meetings which he was conducting by writing verses. While in Charleston he composed a religious poem of ten stanzas, three of which follow:

Sinners perhaps this news with you
May have no weight altho tis true
The Carnal pleasures of the Earth
Cast off the thoughts and fears of Death

.....

⁵³ Diary.

The Blooming youth all in his prime
Is Counting up his Length of time
He oft times says tis his intent
When he gets oald he will Repent.

But oh the sad and awful State
Of those who Stay and Come two Late
The foolish Virgins did begin
To knock but Could not enter in.⁵⁴

All the soldiers were not moved by Ayers' vigorous efforts, however, and he did not fail to register his disgust with them. He said that there were some "Scalawags" in his outfit as mean and Devilish as Satan wants them to be." There were those who would steal and rob all that they could lay their "unholy hands on and often treat the women Rudely." On one occasion when Ayers and some others were gathering boards with which to make seats for one of the evening meetings, several soldiers stole every piece of timber that had been gathered—"A thing I could not believe men Could be found mean Enoughf to Do." He added that such men were a disgrace to the great Union Army and were "found mostly among those Substitutes and thousand doler men."⁵⁵

Ayers enjoyed the "mopping up" operations which he witnessed almost as much as he enjoyed the religious services. He liked the way in which the commanding officers seized wagons, mules, or whatever was necessary for a rapid advance. In January, 1865, he and the men had a "gay oald time" setting fire to several large buildings near their camp at Hardeeville, South Carolina. In the following month he said that if he had his way he would take all the troops and government property out of Savannah, where they were, "Set the place all flames and let it go to the Devil whare it belongs."⁵⁶ He was not at all disturbed over the fact that so much of South Carolina was ruined by "fire and sword," for he recalled that this

⁵⁴ Diary.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

state was the first to secede and that it was at Charleston that the "Rebellion was plotted and Hatched" and that the war started there when the "Rebs" fired on Fort Sumter.⁵⁷

Ayers was thrilled to witness the raising of the flag of the United States at Fort Sumter, April 14, 1865. Although he said that the spectacle was "Grand beyond Description" he gave a vivid account of the event. The vessels in battle formation around the fort were as thick as a forest of trees, Ayers said. Flags and colors decorated not only Sumter but the nearby islands as well. He observed the celebration from a large tree. The big guns at Fort Moultrie, Sumter, the Battery, and on the vessels roared in a salute so powerful that "the earth trembled." The day was made perfect with the news that the Confederate forces had surrendered at Appomattox Court House several days earlier.⁵⁸

Ayers left almost immediately with his regiment for Alexandria, Virginia, moving up through North Carolina and then through the great Dismal Swamp to Chesapeake Bay, over which he sailed to Alexandria. He was at New Bern, North Carolina, when he received the news of the death of President Lincoln. It was a terrible blow for this son of Illinois who had admired his fellow-citizen so ardently. He poured out his grief in his diary when he said:

Never was there a baser act committed and never did a purer patriot fall in Defence of his Country. . . . God will Avenge His Blood on the transgressors. . . . In the assassination and Death of Abraham Lincoln Illinois has Lost her noblest and brightest son. But believing as I do that he was a Christian . . . we are the Losers while he is the gain being far better off than we who remain.⁵⁹

Ayers prayed for the capture of the leading Confederate officials, especially since he was convinced that they were responsible for the death of Lincoln. He was at Alexandria

⁵⁷ Diary.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

waiting to be mustered out, when he learned of the capture of Jefferson Davis and his staff. On this occasion he wrote a diatribe against Davis that has few counterparts in Civil War literature. In part, he said:

I hope he will hang and as he was Caught in womens Close I hope he will be Honored with A womans Suit to hang in—pore Coward puppy, who mean to Live, two mean to Dy—A man Starver, A soal killer, A astard Rascal, A midnight assassion, A thief, A Rober, A Liar, A for-vorn vilian, A Confirmed Traitor, A Slave Driver, A nigger breeder, A negro Equality man mixing his own Blood with niggers. . . . Hang him . . . in a suit of some one of his Negro womens Close and Leave him in the Gallows for Crows and vultures to feed on. Make him an Example to as to deter others.⁶⁰

The end of the Civil War did not close the military career of Ayers. He had caught the spirit of the soldier and he thoroughly enjoyed the life, despite the inconveniences. Furthermore, he had become intensely interested in the Negro and his welfare and apparently felt that he could assist in the difficult task of adjusting this group to its new freedom. On June 1, 1865, he joined the 104th Regiment of United States Colored Troops as chaplain.⁶¹ Shortly thereafter, he proceeded to Fort Duane in Beaufort, South Carolina, where the group was stationed.⁶² On July 1, 1865, he received his commission as a first lieutenant in Company G of the 104th United States Colored Troops. Thus he became a member of the select group he had so roundly castigated during the war. He had the typical enlisted man's contempt for officers. On one occasion he insisted that it was the interference of officers that prevented him from being more successful as a recruiter.⁶³

A part of Ayers' contempt for officers stemmed from the fact that he was convinced that their diversions and distrac-

⁶⁰ Diary.

⁶¹ The *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1900), VI:542, states that Ayers was "on detached duty, with a view to promotion in the U. S. Colored Troops."

⁶² MS in the War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D.C., dated 29, 1865.

⁶³ Diary.

tions were responsible for many of the reverses of the Union Armies. He was especially opposed to their fraternizing with Confederate women. He hoped that Sherman's order to issue no rations to non-combatants would drive from their midst "A Large Portion of those dirty sluts who are here special for the Accommodation of shoulder Straps Lets Clean them out, give them Pills Boys instead of Bread and kick instead of huggin and kissing that is all the way we can manage them I think."⁶⁴ In May, 1864, he welcomed a change of commanding officers at Huntsville, Alabama, because he believed that it would enhance the efficiency of the force stationed there. He feared that the improvement would not last long, however, for soon these "shouldered strapped" men would perhaps spend too much time "hunting after Crinolins" as their predecessors had done, and "they two may get so engaged and interested in that Line as to forget there duty . . . what A pitty it is so many puffed up shoalders strapped for Act so. Man is a strange being the more favours he has bestowed on him the bigger A fool he is or often so."⁶⁵

At the time that Ayers became a wearer of the shoulder straps he ranked fifth on the roster of officers of the regiment, with only a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, a major, and a surgeon outranking him. He was not of much service to his new outfit, however, for his health had so declined that he spent most of his remaining days in the hospital. It is nothing short of amazing that a man of Ayers' advanced age and poor health had been able to withstand the rigors of a soldier's life as well as he had. He constantly complained of his health. While in the "little Stinkhole place Trianna" in Alabama he was seized with "A severe Chill Lasting some three hours and then a Raging fever afterwards. Surely I had Liked to have went to the Boneyard."⁶⁶ When he resigned from his position as

⁶⁴ Diary.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

recruiter he was placed with a group of convalescents and complained of a "Severe Disinterry."⁶⁷ When he was on his furlough in November, 1864, he complained that his health was still "quiet pore," and later he said that he suffered with so many ailments that he was unable to rest at night. When he returned to his outfit early in 1865 and attempted to keep up with the pace set by the younger and more healthy men, he collapsed and had to be sent in an ambulance to an army hospital in Savannah, where he remained for several weeks.⁶⁸ Apparently, only his remarkable resiliency and recuperative powers sustained him during the closing weeks of the war. Upon arrival at his new post he was almost immediately committed to the Regimental Hospital in Beaufort, South Carolina, where he died of typhus on September 10, 1865.⁶⁹

Ayers' family was not immediately notified of his passing. As late as November 30, 1865, his son Joseph B. Ayers wrote to officials in Washington inquiring as to the whereabouts of his father.⁷⁰ When the Adjutant General got around to making a reply, on January 13, 1866, he had the following to say: "I have the honor to inform you [h]is name is not borne on the records of that regiment [104th U.S. Colored Troops] and that his name does not appear on the Record of officers of U.S. Colored Troops on file in this office."⁷¹ It is not known just where and how the news concerning Ayers' death reached his family. In all probability the records of the 104th U. S. Colored Troops were in transit to Washington when Joseph Ayers made the inquiry concerning his father. It is presumed that upon receipt of them the Adjutant General's Office notified the family of his passing.

Ayers' service record was never completely filed, perhaps

⁶⁷ Diary.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ From the pension files of Civil War veterans, No. W. O. 165,560 in the National Archives.

⁷⁰ "Letters Received," 1865, U. S. Colored Troops, Recruiting, Adjutant General's Office, p. 334.

⁷¹ "Letter Book," Vol. I, U.S. Colored Troops, p. 314, Adjutant General's Office.

because of his hasty departure from the 129th Illinois Infant Regiment and his enlistment with the 104th U. S. Color Troops. Consequently, the record of his service with the Illinois group is incomplete, while the only record of his death is in a published list of "deaths and interments at Beaufort, South Carolina."⁷² This is, perhaps, the principal reason why a request for a pension was denied Ayers' wife in 1868.⁷³ It is interesting to observe that Ayers, although devoted to his children and to his first wife, never mentioned in his diary his marriage to Mrs. Mary Jane Watson in 1858.

If Illinois had recovered from the staggering blow it suffered in the loss of its greatest son in April, 1865, it could well have mourned in September, 1865, the passing of one who was certainly not the least of its sons. Many may have cheered the state more loudly, but none loved it more dearly. He was happiest when he was at home, and although he did not return to Illinois at the war's end he constantly wrote of the joy he would experience upon returning there to stay. Mary may have made more significant contributions to the Union cause, but none was more devoted to it than he. During the early part of his service he wrote: "They say my Country needs me and I am willing to forego all this and even more if need be to save my Country. My life is Ready if need be to Lay on the alter of my Country all, all, Everything I have, my Life with it all, and more had I more, for my Country."⁷⁴ He was constantly praying for his country and its leaders. A typical prayer follows: "God bless our Nation, our Armies, the President, the Generals, and all our Union officers and Soldiers and save our oald Government is my prayer."⁷⁵

As Ayers moved among his fellows, he made an impressive appearance. He was almost six feet in height and weighed 170

⁷² Surgeon General's Office, Record and Pension Division, Oct. 28, 1868.

⁷³ See the pension files of Civil War veterans, No. W. O. 165,560 in the National Archives. A copy of the license for this second marriage is in this file.

⁷⁴ Diary.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

sounds. When he enlisted in the Army in 1862, his hair was already gray, and this must have made him rather unique among the privates of Company E of the 129th Infantry. His cheerful disposition, his boundless optimism, and his great faith in the possibilities of his fellow-men made him extremely popular with all who knew him.

The record that Ayers left of his experiences from December, 1863, to April, 1865, is of exceptional value as a mirror of the man and of the period. Few diaries of the period describe so extensively life among the civilians of the war-torn South. Few soldiers in the Union Army saw so much and with such a keen eye as Ayers. His wartime travels carried him from Illinois to Tennessee and Alabama, to Pennsylvania and New York, by ocean steamer into the southeastern states, and by land from Georgia to Washington. Despite his semi-literacy, Ayers has given to posterity an account of the war which has great social value. For his keenness of insight, his effervescent spirit, and his remarkable zeal, he has few peers among those who chose to record their experiences in our second great war for freedom.

WHEN DIO LEWIS CAME TO DIXON

BY EUGENE B. VEST

DOCTOR Dioclesian Lewis, "formerly of Buffalo, now of New York," was giving lectures on health at Exchange Hall,¹ in Dixon in November, 1858, according to advertising notices.² Ten cents was the price of admission to the lectures at which "a large and very fine apparatus is used to illustrate the subjects; besides manikins, Skeletons, &c. More than fifty fine Papier Mache Models are displayed." Information was also given that conversations could be had with Dr. Lewis in his rooms at the Na-chu-sa House³ by those with maladies of skin, ear, nerves, throat, lungs, liver, or stomach and cures were undertaken by the homeopathic and hydro pathic methods.

Dioclesian Lewis, more familiarly known as Dio Lewis had not yet reached his greatest fame as one of the pioneers in physical culture education in America and as a champion of temperance when he gave these lectures in Dixon. Born near Auburn, New York, in 1823, he had studied medicine with a local doctor and then had gone to Harvard Medical School in Boston for the term of 1845-46. After this sketchy preparation, he went to Port Byron, New York, and began practicing

¹ Exchange Hall, built by John V. Eustace, Elias B. Stiles, and Henry Webb in 1855 stood at 104 Galena Avenue, the south half of the present site of the City National Bank building. It was the town center for public meetings and entertainment until the building of Union Hall brought about a division of these honors. *History of Dixon and Lee County* (Dixon, 1880), 11.

² *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Nov. 4, Nov. 11, 1858.

³ The Nachusa Hotel, 215 Galena Avenue, still functioning, was opened December 1, 1853. It has a commanding position facing the court house at the top of the chief hill in the city. Many notables have stayed here. In 1838 foundations for a hotel on this site were put in by Dixon Hotel company, incorporated in 1837, but hard times probably stopped the project.

without a degree.⁴ A little later he started practicing in Buffalo and began the publication of a monthly magazine called *The Homoeopathist*. While he was in Buffalo he devised a system of gymnastics without the use of apparatus, and also set up a women's class in gymnastics.

But he soon decided to give up physical education for a while, and turn his attention to temperance lecturing. Allying himself with the "Washingtonian movement," whose promoters labeled themselves reformed drunkards, and specialized in "experience meetings," he lectured throughout the South, the Midwest, and Canada, with much success. He was said to be dramatic, quick-witted, and pleasing on the platform, and nearly always successful in persuading his large audiences.⁵

On his Dixon visit in 1858, Dio Lewis pushed both his interests—physical education and temperance—with the greatest vigor. Certainly the physical education lectures were a success, for a news item reported that they were "creating quite a sensation by the novel mode of their conduct." Most of the audience took part in the exercises at the end of each lecture, to the amusement of the rest of the crowd who were probably too shy to participate. Said the same news item:

We have seen many exciting scrambles at bat and ball, and other games in our school-boy days, but none equal to the exciting sport of last evening. A class in gymnastics has been organized, some sixty in number. Dr. Lewis is a skillful and practical teacher.⁶

To one of these lecture-workouts went Editor Benjamin Shaw of the *Republican and Telegraph*.⁷ He made notes of what he heard and saw, and published a lengthy report in the editorial column of his next issue. Besides a good deal on vegetarianism and tooth decay, as well as on the health value

⁴ The Homeopathic Hospital College of Cleveland gave him an honorary M. D. in 1851.

⁵ *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1933), XI: 209.

⁶ *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Nov. 4, 1858.

⁷ 1831—1909. Descendants of B. F. Shaw still publish the *Dixon Evening Telegraph* under the name of the B. F. Shaw Printing company.

of changing the feathers and straw ticking of beds frequently Dr. Lewis also had much to say about women's dress. Editor Shaw reported him as follows:

1st Woman's dress; Natural waists or no wives! The Greek Slave the exquisite ideal of physical woman with which Powers has enriched our country,⁸ contrasted with the slave of fashion, the miscreation of the Dress Maker. Dare a real girl breathe? "Oh! Miss Mary what fright you are!" "How, what do you mean?" "Why, your shape." "But am I not as the Lord made me?" "As the Lord made you, why yes, but that's no shape at all, you ought to have the scoop shovel shape; and then you hold your shoulders thrown back like a man." "What must I do then to acquire the feminine graces?" "Why you must wear stiff whalebones and bring your dress together tight in the waist and hang some pounds weight of skirts to it and keep your head forward so as to round your shoulders in a ladylike way. Now with a long dress for the street, which we will show you in our 5th Avenue School how to hold up out of the mud and let your delicate limbs and thin morocco shoes appear to an advantage as you cross the gutters, in a year's practice you will reduce the size of your waist several inches and look like a young lady ought to look, delicate, not Dutch like a servant girl that has to work for her living.

A striking illustration of this vice of dress was presented in the portrait of a lady who had actually died in New York of pulmonary compression. The corset had left its mark in the long angular waist, and the pinched features and scrawny limbs all stunted of blood and deprived of free action. The lungs of an ox were dressed by Mrs. Lewis in a corset while Dr. L. inflated them and showed how the slightest pressure prevented the expansion of the air cells and confined respiration to the upper lobes where tight dressed ladies do their breathing under the collar bone. The mischief commences as soon as we are born, the nurse swathes the tight wrappers the little babe whose ribs are so soft they would cut like a turnip, and if it be a girl she gives an extra twist in making the waistband meet—for there is no luck can happen to a fellow so bad as to be

⁸ The "Greek Slave" was a marble statue, a female nude, by Hiram Powers, Vermont sculptor who lived in Florence, Italy, after 1837. Not much as art, it nevertheless had tremendous fame in Europe and America because it sentimentalized the Greek fight against the Turk. There were at least six marble copies, of which one, the second, is in the Corcoran Gallery at Washington. The London Crystal Palace exhibited the statue, Elizabeth Barrett Browning praised it in a second-rate sonnet, Edward Everett and Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote of it, and the preachers of Cincinnati gravely noted and approved its moral value. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV: 158-160. Augusta, Georgia, in 1852, permitted it to be viewed only where the sexes were separated. There was a soirée for ladies who wished to see it. Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving* (New York, 1944), 404. In the recesses of bookcases or behind statuettes of the "Greek Slave" were to be found the bourbon and ice water in some private houses following the Civil War. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America 1800-1878* (*A History of American Life*, VIII, New York, 1927), 211.

born a girl,—You are put on a wrong track at the start and have to go wrong all your life. Then the feet. In cold and wet weather men wear hick boots. Are women so much more robust as not to need such protection? "But it is so unladylike to make a noise in walking." The English ladies are of a different opinion, they wear even wooden clogs, and the first ladies in the land often make the most noise with them in the street.—That which is most convenient, most proper to the occasion, time and place, is also accounted the most ladylike. As to the Bloomer dress, so convenient for housework, but unnecessarily short for the streets, women who wear it evince moral courage if not the most elegant taste and men make sad fools of themselves when they cackle about a woman's wearing such dress as she finds most convenient. We are disposed to answer them, hadn't you better mind your own business and stop chawing obacco?⁹

The doctor went on to discuss children who were allowed to go about bare-legged and bare-armed in cold weather, a fashionable sin against health:

Oh what a contrast between little Arabella McFlimsy¹⁰ with her dress of parade and little Polly Smith rolling her hoop so snugly dressed up to her chin, with woolen sleeves and pantalets and boots. . . . Mothers, try the experiment yourselves, locked up in your room with an open window in cold weather, push your feet out the window and see whether such exposure toughens you.¹¹

Earlier in the same article Editor Shaw said that hundreds had enjoyed the "pleasant influence of our friend Dr. Lewis to listen to his genial and humorous admonitions" in the cause of health, and revealed that he himself had been among those exercising after the lecture:

Seldom has solid instruction been more simply and happily imparted, and sealing the word with the deed, after the lectures we have enacted, under the Dr.'s teachings, that admirable system of Swedish Gymnastics

⁹ *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Nov. 11, 1858.

¹⁰ Evidently a reference to Flora McFlimsey, heroine of the once-famous poem, *Nothing Wear: An Episode of City Life*, by William Allen Butler, a lawyer and author (1825-1902). Published in 1857, the poem at once became popular and was long quoted. From it we learn on page 16 that Miss Flora McFlimsey of Madison Square made three trips to Paris to buy all kinds of clothes:

And yet, though scarce three months have passed since the day
This merchandise went, on twelve carts, up Broadway,
This same Miss McFlimsey, of Madison Square,
The last time we met was in utter despair,
Because she had nothing whatever to wear!

¹¹ *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Nov. 11, 1858.

invented by the poet Ling¹² and now adopted as a discipline in the Swedish Army.

When Dr. Lewis arrived in Dixon a strong local temperance movement was already under way, prosecuted vigorously by several local ministers, their wives, and other church women. Most active of the ministers was the Rev. W. W. Harsha, of the Presbyterian church,¹³ though he was aided greatly by the Rev. L. A. Sanford, of the Methodist Episcopal church, and the Rev. W. R. Webb, of the Baptist church. Harsha, in particular, had been inveighing against liquor in a series of special sermons for a month or two already.

To these fine efforts Dr. Lewis lent his talented aid with at least one special lecture at a mass temperance meeting. This he had arranged for by going to Harsha and the other ministers and asking them to forego their usual Sunday evening service in favor of a combined meeting to consider a scheme for the removal of the curse of drink.¹⁴ This meeting was held under the auspices of the new local temperance organization called the Martha Washington Association, at Union Hall¹⁵ on Sabbath evening, November 14, 1858. In reporting this gathering the next Thursday, the *Republican and Telegraph* said:

Never, in the annals of Dixon, has the subject of Temperance, for all its bearings, been so fully weighed and pondered, as at the present time. In eating, drinking and exercising, in morals and politics—in every po-

¹² Poet, playwright, and gymnastic teacher, Pehr Henrik Ling, who died in 1829, founded the Royal Gymnastic Central Institute at Stockholm.

¹³ He was the first pastor of the Dixon Presbyterian Church, serving from its organization in 1853 until 1862. He was also a leader in founding the Dixon Collegiate Institute in 1855. A native of New York State, educated at Union College, he had begun his ministry at Galena in 1846, also serving at Hanover, Savanna, Chicago, and Jacksonville.

¹⁴ Mary F. Eastman, *The Biography of Dio Lewis*, (New York, 1891), 65.

¹⁵ Union Hall, originally having four stories, and built in 1855 by J. B. Nash and Silas Noble, still stands at 105-107 First Street. The fourth floor, regarded as unsafe after a fire on an adjoining lot in 1860, was removed in April, 1862. Public meetings were probably held on this floor. The ground floor of Union Hall is today occupied by the branch office of a mail-order company in the east room, and by a clothing store in the west room; its second floor consists chiefly of lawyers' offices; and its third floor contains a very large room used jointly by the Modern Woodmen and a dancing school. In this room public meetings were held for many years after the removal of the top floor. The first store of Charles R. Walgreen, founder of the Walgreen Drug company, was located in the east room of the ground floor during the early part of this century. A faded sign, painted on the bricks across the top of the building at the rear, still advertises the Walgreen-Davis drug store.

ble phase in which the vast subject presents itself, it has been discussed and made the great theme for thought and action. Dr. Lewis has illustrated it in his peculiar way, and the ladies of Dixon, in its bearing upon thinking, have firmly clasped its principles to their hearts, to be the mainspring of action.¹⁶

Dio Lewis, himself, remembered this particular meeting for years afterwards. It was an event in the hundreds of meetings he held during his career. What he wrote down about it is quoted by his single biographer:

The meeting was large and enthusiastic, and at its close a committee of fifty or more women were appointed and named "the committee of situation." This committee included the wives of the clergymen, who were made a special committee to draft an appeal from the women of Dixon to the retailers of intoxicating drinks of the city.

This was prepared, and was remarkably eloquent and touching. The next morning at ten o'clock the visiting committee assembled in the hall where we had held our meeting, heard and indorsed the appeal, and immediately left the hall in a body to begin their work.

The first effort was directed to the saloon under Union Hall, where their meetings were held, into which they marched with hymns of trust on their lips. They knelt, prayed, sang, and implored, and there was struck a blow which fell with divine power upon the thirty-nine groggies¹⁷ which were desolating Dixon. In six days' time not even a glass of beer could be bought in the town.¹⁸

"It would be difficult," he wrote long afterward, "to conceive a more interesting story than that of the labors of the women of Dixon during that week. The triumph was for the cause being complete."¹⁹ But he realized, too late, that he had not fully developed his opportunity in Dixon:

I shall never forgive myself for not remaining on the ground, that I might organize social and literary clubs and amusement halls and other substitutes for the lighted, warmed, social dram-shops. Thus the woman's cause would have been fairly inaugurated. But at that time, I was burdened with what I felt to be my life-work, that of urging upon the people their right to a "sound mind in a sound body," and the introduction of a new system of physical training into the schools of the country,

¹⁶ *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Nov. 18, 1858.

¹⁷ An interesting statistic. The population of Dixon in 1858 was something over 3,000.

¹⁸ Eastman, *Dio Lewis*, 65-66.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

and I therefore gave only Sundays to the temperance work.²⁰

The appeal which Dr. Lewis mentions, was drawn up by a committee consisting of the three ministers' wives, Mr. Harsha, Mrs. Sanford, and Mrs. Webb, and a fourth member Mrs. Ellen Wheeler,²¹ of the Methodist church. Really a double appeal, the first portion was directed to the citizens of Dixon; the second to the saloon keepers of the town in particular. It was a powerful document, as the public discovered. Though the *Republican and Telegraph* practically never had news of any sort on its front page, it placed the appeal there in the two right-hand columns. The first section, that addressed to the community, said in part:

We, the women of Dixon, come to you with an earnest, heartfelt appeal, touching the monster evils of intemperance under which our beautiful village groans. Beholders—mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, why have we taken this step? Why have we laid aside our natural reserve, to make this formal appeal?—Have we schemes of unholy ambition to further? Can we be prompted by dreams of personal aggrandizement or worldly honor? No, no! Our motives are the purest, our purposes the most elevated, our aims the most holy. Hear us then—calmly, dispassionately; and, having heard, let your consciences and better judgments prompt to action. . . . To [liquor] we trace the ten thousand nameless woes of our sex—made of God to be shielded and protected by his strong and loving hand—but made by the intoxicating poisons sold and drunk in our midst, the object of nameless abuses, worse than death. How many of our sex, even now, while we speak, are breathing through heaving and rending sighs the prayer, "Oh, God! end these our woes in death!"

To the sale and use of intoxicating liquors, as you well know, so to be referred the daily and almost hourly fall of some noble intellect into driveling idiocy or raving delirium; abstracting thereby from the men the wealth of our nation, what we cannot afford to spare. And to this sale and use may be traced the moral epidemics all around us, which continually seize upon our noble sons and beautiful daughters, dragging them from the high pedestal of virtue, and with them burying the fond hopes of doting, dependent parents, in a tomb over whose portals no angel writes a word of promise or sounds a resurrection trump. Oh God! how many loving hearts lie buried this hour in the graves dug by the flood

²⁰ Eastman, *Dio Lewis*, 66-67.

²¹ Wife of early settler Ozias Wheeler, mother of Harry Ozias Wheeler, 322 Third street. She died in 1870.

sions of the saloon and drinking hell, for fathers—brothers—sons! . . .

But why extend the black and mournful catalogue? These facts are before you. . . . We reason not. We do not speculate upon these facts. We simply point to them, and ask, "Are ye men—are ye human—have ye hearts to feel and hands to do—then look at the black and damning picture spread out everywhere around you, and in God's name, strike down the monster whose fangs are at your vitals!"²²

The section addressed "To the Keepers of Saloons and Drinking Houses in Dixon" is shorter and somewhat more restrained in tone, but it bluntly asks these business men to close shop and earn the gratitude of the entire community. And, "in the name of God, cease, cease this unholy business. Fill not our casks and bottles again."²³

By the time this issue of the paper reached its readers, Dr. Lewis had apparently moved on, taking with him a set of highly laudatory resolutions presented to him by the grateful temperance workers of the community. In part the tribute read:

Resolved, that the thanks of every friend of the cause of temperance and moral and physical reform in Dixon, are due to Dr. Dioclesian Lewis, the originator of the movement, for his noble and self-sacrificing efforts in the cause of God and Humanity.²⁴

They pledged themselves to uphold his lofty platform after his departure.

But a subjoined letter to the editor, signed "E", objected that all the credit should not be given "Dr. Lewis, an itinerant physiological lecturer, who has been sojourning here for two or three weeks past." Dr. Lewis had rendered "efficient aid in the temperance cause," said "E", but the Rev. Mr. Harsha had been lecturing on temperance for some time and should also have credit. Dr. Lewis, in fact, the letter asserted, merely came at an opportune moment to forward Mr. Harsha's work. So it is clear that Dio Lewis did not find favor with everyone in the

²² *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Nov. 18, 1858.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.* These resolutions are also printed in Eastman, *Dio Lewis*, 66-67.

community, though criticism was not published until he had left town.

Good work had been done, however. The women were marching into saloons and asking the owners to close. Some agreed, but others defied them, and the town riffraff jeered the marchers. A news item two weeks later, headed "Good News," said that Enos Miller had given up his Exchange Saloon and purchased Cheney's Refreshment Hall, featuring oysters and other food²⁵ and on the same page appeared the note, "We have it from the lips of a rumseller that there is not one fourth the liquor sold in Dixon today that there was three months since."

Enos Miller, however, must have shortly regretted deserting the saloon business, for he was selling beer at Refreshment Hall within a week:

A counter movement of crinoline on the liquor question took place one day last week at Refreshment Hall. A female, who had, we should judge, quite lost the "Divine property of her first being," stepped into the above named establishment, and after eating a dish of oysters, called up the crowd of men to the bar and treated to beer all around. She was a stranger here—and, we should hope, will continue to be.²⁶

But the good work continued, in spite of occasional backsliding. The same issue reported that the ladies of Dixon, with Mr. Wagner's permission, entered his saloon, carried out his bottles and demijohns, and dumped the liquor in the street amid a hilarious and joyous crowd. They promised him a benefit supper at Exchange Hall on the following Friday, with tickets to the public at fifty cents each, or supper and dancing combined at two dollars each.²⁷ The paper carried another notice or two praising Wagner for his courageous action and urging the public to attend, but failed to report the outcome of this interesting supper. It did say, however, that the no-

²⁵ *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Dec. 2, 1858.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1858.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

val newspaper, the *Dixon Advertiser*,²⁸ was ridiculing the temperance movement and putting Wagner's action in a bad light.²⁹

Meanwhile echoes of Lewis' visit continued to occur. On Christmas Day there appeared Volume I, No. 1, of something called *Life in Dixon Illustrated*, edited by "Johanus Elongas," one article of which showed a character named "Noodle-poup" going through his morning exercises as recommended by Dr. Lewis.³⁰ A little later there appeared these items in the *Republican and Telegraph*:

The words "Switzer Cheese, Lager Beer and Bologna Sausages," painted on a board about ten by three, have disappeared from the cellar—leading under Ellis' bank³¹. . . . A portion of our ladies and gentlemen—unfortunate souls—unable to find, in their daily avocations, sufficient exercise to keep their corporeal systems in good health, are compelled to swing heavy clubs every Monday and Friday evening to regulate digestion; while others, more lucky, wash their own clothes and saw their own fuel for the same result. . . . Ozias³² held out at arm's length one of Dr. Lewis' clubs five minutes.³³

During these weeks some local writer had been contributing a column on the temperance movement to the *Republican and Telegraph*. It was written in Biblical style, divided up into verses, and numbered. The author soon found fault with the departed Dr. Lewis:

16. Now it came to pass in those days, that a certain man named Diocletian, whose surname was Lewis, also called a Doctor, or Physician, came among us.

17. Albeit, he was not the Diocletian of ancient renown but only named in the name, like many other vain pretenders who, as a certain

²⁸ Its first issue had appeared on November 24. It was owned and edited by E. B. Stiles, J. Atherton, and J. V. Eustace, who had bought out the *Monitor*, which had failed. The *Advertiser* lasted just a year.

²⁹ *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Dec. 9, 1858.

³⁰ *History of Dixon and Lee County* (Dixon, 1880), 17.

³¹ Apparently a misprint for "Eells's bank," referring to Samuel C. Eells (1822-1913) of Atherton, Eells and Company, located at the southwest corner of First Street and Hennepin Avenue. The building and sixteen others burned the next October. The present City National Bank is the descendant of Eells's bank.

³² Ozias Wheeler, early settler who came to Dixon from Vermont in 1840, father of Dr. Ozias Wheeler.

³³ *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Jan. 20, 1859.

poet saith, "steal the livery of heaven to serve the Devil in."

18. Now this man gave out that he was some great one; and had the "power to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease among the people;" and could instruct them in all things pertaining to their physical well-being.

19. Moreover, he was of good countenance and fair speech and he beguiled those who gave him audience with pleasant words, insomuch that many thought they were greatly edified thereby.

20. He taught them athletic exercises, which he called "Ancient Grecian Gymnastic Performances;" and which would make them strong to labor, and swift of foot to run in a race.

21. And very many consorted with him, and verily believed that he was a messenger sent by God to do mighty works among the dwellers in Dixon.

22. Now this so-called Doctor was a man of much forethought and seeing that the people had become aroused to a sense of the great danger which beset them on every side,

23. By reason of the drinking saloons and gambling hells which did so much abound among us, being vain in his imagination, though within himself to take advantage thereof, and thereby get to himself a name and a praise, by becoming a leader in the good work.³⁴

So, said the anonymous writer, this doctor, this "man Diocletian, more commonly called Lewis, who had oft times beguiled the people with his fair speech and pleasant countenance," called for a big Sabbath meeting in Union Hall. By his speech at the meeting, the writer asserted, did not please the people for it was "not weighty in argument." Furthermore, the resolutions in praise of the doctor, made in public meeting were apparently agreed to unanimously, but all the audience did not agree and were not deceived. And finally, although the doctor had promised the ladies a banner costing \$100 with which to lead their crusading campaigns, he left town before making the purchase and presentation.

31. So the man Lewis, having finished his work and labors of love in the goodly town of Dixon, and counted the gains thereof, gathered up his instruments and all the imagery wherewith he had instructed and amused the people;³⁵

³⁴ *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Jan. 27, 1859.

³⁵ Lewis made a special trip to Europe in 1856 to purchase this paraphernalia illustrating his lectures. Eastman, *Dio Lewis*, 62.

32. And took his spouse and her poodle dog, and with Lazarus, his friend,"³⁶ departed, drawn by a fiery chariot, to a town in the Province Winnebago, called Rockford.³⁷

Yet the reform battle continued, for the next week, when the ladies marched on the saloon at the Na-chu-sa House, the operator, John Stock, according to plan, had his assistants light a mixture of red peppers and tobacco, effectively driving out the women.³⁸ He was fined \$100, but appealed to a higher court.³⁹

At this time interest in both the temperance drive and in gymnastics apparently began to wane. Both probably drooped for lack of the presence of the electric personality of Dio Lewis. Thus, a scant two months after his departure, the following notice was published: "The Gymnastic Club will meet at the Union Hall on Friday evening to either dispose of their stock of clubs now on hand, and 'dry up,' or pay up and start afresh."⁴⁰

Other interests also arose to absorb public attention at this time, and so the memory of Dio Lewis began to grow dim. For one thing, a city charter was adopted at a special election on December 4, 1858, and the town was made a city by the state legislature in February, 1859. There was a great deal of difficulty in electing a mayor. Nobody wanted the job.⁴¹ Then, too, local citizens were leaving every day for the wonderful Pike's Peak gold fields. Finally, Editor B. F. Shaw himself, unable to resist the lure of the yellow dust any longer, said farewell to his public in his issue of March 3 before departing

³⁶ Probably R. M. Huntington, who signed his advertising as "Secretary" and who probably aided the doctor in his demonstrations.

³⁷ *Dixon Republican and Telegraph*, Feb. 3, 1859.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1859.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1859.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1859.

⁴¹ John Dixon, founder of the town, did not want it. Colonel John Dement, mayor and resident since 1840, purposely failed to qualify; and old settler Joseph Crawford, who was in Dixon in 1835) merely served as acting mayor until a new election of April 4 was held in the choice of Amos C. Stedman. Both Dement and Crawford got over their shyness about the office in later years; Dement was mayor from 1869 to 1872, and in 1878 and 1880 Crawford served from 1873 to 1875.

for the Golden West.⁴²

But Dio Lewis did not drop into obscurity when he left the little town he had stirred up so profoundly. Two years later, in 1861, he incorporated the Boston Normal Institute for Physical Education with the backing and approval of prominent Boston people.⁴³ The school flourished and graduated more than four hundred men and women during the next seven years. He also put out several books on physical education, of which the most important was *New Gymnastics* which was published in 1862 and had a wide sale and considerable fame in both the United States and Britain.⁴⁴

His greatest fame came in 1873 when he started the Women's Christian Temperance Union almost by accident. He gave a temperance lecture at Hillsboro, Ohio, in December of that year, urging the women to go on a praying crusade to close the saloons. His speech struck extraordinary fire in his audience, and the inspiration spread rapidly across the whole country. This led directly to the formation of the W. C. T. U. in November, 1874, at Cleveland.⁴⁵

In these later lectures he seems to have referred to his stay in Dixon, years before, as one of the highlights of his experience. On December 17, 1873, the *Fredonia* (New York *Censor* said in a story of a temperance speech made by Dio Lewis in Fredonia the previous Sunday evening:

Dr. Lewis told of early experiences in his native town, in which through women's efforts, the sale of liquor was speedily abolished, and poverty gave place to thrift, vice to virtue, and misery to happiness.

⁴² Early settler I. S. Boardman, who arrived in Dixon in 1837 from New York, took over in his place.

⁴³ Among them Bronson Alcott; President Cornelius Felton, of Harvard; Walter Channing, earlier dean of Harvard Medical School; Edward Everett, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes and publisher James T. Fields. Eastman, *Dio Lewis*, 80-81.

⁴⁴ *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1933), XI: 209. Some other titles were *Our Digestion or My Jolly Friend's Secret*, *Weak Lungs and How to Make Them Strong*, *Our Good Chastity*, *Longevity*, *Prohibition a Failure*, *Chats*, *Nuggets*, *Gypsies*, *In a Nutshell* (advice to college students), and a periodical called *Dio Lewis's Monthly for Jolly Folk*. Eastman, *Dio Lewis*, 1, 351, 363, 372.

⁴⁵ *Dictionary of American History* (New York, 1940), V: 479; Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America 1865-1878* (New York, 1927), 338; Eastman, *Dio Lewis*, 153-166.

ad seen this same work wrought by women fifteen years since in Dixon, l., and in Battle Creek, Mich. He believed it could be done in any own.⁴⁶

Comments made on Lewis in his later life help to explain his success in Dixon. The *Phrenological Journal and Life Illustrated* for June, 1874, said:

Here is an original character. Nobody will ever mistake Dr. Dio Lewis for Dr. somebody else. His large, rotund body and well-formed head make him at once a striking and conspicuous figure. He stands nearly six feet high and weighs over two hundred pounds. . . . His brain is very large, measuring twenty-four inches in circumference, and is both long and high. His nature is peculiarly sympathetic. Though the intellectual organs are large the moral sentiments are still larger, and he experiences the most exalted and rapturous emotions. He is overflowing with good feeling, affection, charity, aspiration and adoration. His brain is also broad through the region of constructiveness. . . . See how high the head is from the ear upward to the top. See how long the head is from the ear forward. This clearly indicates a moral and a religious tendency. . . . He is, in brief, a live, original, energetic, enthusiastic, sympathetic, emotional gentleman. He is emphatically Dr. Dio Lewis.⁴⁷

Said a Rouse's Point, New York, paper:

His diction is pure, he speaks not at all in a hurry, but with a zest that dwells on the words and makes every sentence tell. His actions, illustrations, and anecdotes are all felicitous and well-sustained. He doesn't drag. You listen in spite of yourself, and follow his speech without effort. It is, in fact, like an animated parlor conversation between the speaker and the audience, conducted by one thoroughly at home with himself and at ease with all the world. No stilts, puffery, or airing of medical terms, but a cozy talk on common-sense subjects.⁴⁸

Finally, his biographer herself delivered the observation that "he stated his thought briefly, illustrated it with a spirited and pointed anecdote, incident, or personal sketch, and stopped."⁴⁹

Dio Lewis lived until 1886, lecturing, writing, and publishing in the fields of temperance and physical education. He died in Yonkers, New York.

⁴⁶ Eastman, *Dio Lewis*, 143-144.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 337-338.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 338-339. No date is given for the quotation from the paper.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 372.

As for Dixon, the saloons were soon back after Dio's departure, and so there was a real need for Frances E. Willard of Evanston when she helped organize the local W. C. T. U. in the basement of the Methodist church on July 6, 1875.⁵⁰ Physical education had a slow growth in the town's public school, but the adult population never took to daily setting-up exercises.

⁵⁰ For a lively and not very complimentary description of a later temperance campaign in Dixon, see Joseph Fort Newton's *River of Years; an Autobiography* (Philadelphia, 1946), 108.

ORIGIN OF THE PROGRESSIVE MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

BY DALLAS M YOUNG

WHEN the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers and the National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, met in joint session on January 23, 1890, the stage was set for healing a bitter breach, which had for many years divided and weakened the ranks of the coal miners. Two days later a constitution was adopted¹ and there was born a union which has become one of the most outstanding in the history of organized labor—the United Mine Workers of America. This event apparently marked the end of a long and highly unprofitable feud among rival unions and heralded the beginning of a new era of unity and progress for the miners.

None could have guessed how one man, John Llewellyn Lewis, a ten-year-old boy at that time, was to impress the United Mine Workers with the stamp of his own dynamic and tumultuous personality, nor how he was to be largely responsible for numerous disruptions of the harmony created at the 1890 convention.

Illinois has been the stage for many a dramatic scene in the unfolding story of mine labor, and John L. Lewis, whose career really began in the coal fields of Illinois, has been one of the principal actors on that stage. One of his most unusual roles was the part he played in the events which led to the formation of the Progressive Mine Workers of America. It

¹ Chris Evans, *History of the United Mine Workers of America* (Indianapolis, 1918?), I: 394-

is rather ironic that the very aggressive, uncompromising qualities which enabled Lewis to weld the United Mine Workers into their present position of power should also become the major cause of a successful rebellion *against* the UMW—a rebellion which took place largely among miners of Lewis's adopted state.

Because the tapestry of conflict which led to the formation of the Progressives was woven around a basic pattern provided by the union's form of government, a clear picture of the organizational structure of the United Mine Workers is necessary for a full understanding of the origins of the insurgent union.

When Lewis became president of the union, after rising through the ranks from the presidency of his Montgomery County local, the United Mine Workers had a membership of 400,000, organized on a democratic basis. Similar in pattern to the government of the United States, the national body derived its power from the votes of individual miners acting through local unions, subdistricts, and districts. Delegates representing each local union met in biennial conventions to enact the laws of the union. Control was, at least in theory, in the hands of the workers. Furthermore, the UMW was a pure industrial union in which everyone who worked around or on the mine belonged to one and the same union.²

By the early 1920's, partly because the union's type of organization provided strong personalities with abundant opportunities to rise to leadership, rivalry had become common among miners' officials. It is not surprising that a clash occurred between two forceful individuals like John L. Lewis and Frank Farrington, president of District No. 12, which included all of Illinois. Farrington was popular among Illinois miners. Lewis was not, despite his early association with the

² Tom Tippet, "The Miners Fight Their Leaders," *The American Mercury*, XXXII, 126 (June, 1934), 132.

iners of that state. A conflict arose between "the international," as the national UMW was called, and District 12 officials over the question of authority in state affairs. Were state officials or the international president to have control? The argument had on several occasions developed to the point where a complete break seemed inevitable.

In August, 1926, an event occurred which illustrates the union's bitterness. In that month Farrington sailed for Europe supposedly to act as a delegate to the British Trade Union Congress³ and to unveil a memorial to Samuel Gompers, who had died in 1924. Whereupon Lewis revealed to the executive board of the union what he called Farrington's "sell-out" of the Illinois miners. He gave to the board a letter written by Farrington to the Peabody Coal Company in which Farrington mentioned having signed a three-year contract with the company at an annual salary of \$25,000. Lewis asked that a thorough investigation be made.⁴ When this news was given to the miners, many opinions crystallized immediately against Farrington, while others, though they found it difficult to explain Farrington's actions, were inclined to take his side against Lewis. Even today the exact relationship existing between Farrington, Lewis, and the Peabody Coal Company is in no means clear and undisputed.⁵ But one can safely conclude that the division of Illinois miners into pro-Lewis and pro-Farrington factions was an initial step toward the rise of a new union.

³ Editorial, "Cleaning House Among the Miners," *The Nation*, Vol. 123, No. 3193 (Sept. 1926), 237-238.

⁴ *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield, Ill.), Aug. 28, 1926.

⁵ Four years later in Springfield, Farrington gave his belated explanation to the miners of Illinois. In addressing a convention to reorganize the United Mine Workers of America he stated that he had foreseen that the miners in his district were going to have to take a reduction in wages when a new contract was negotiated in 1927. Competition from other fields was too great. Yet he knew that, should he advocate such a reduction, Lewis would be the first to call him a traitor. With the Peabody Coal Company serving as intermediary, he said an agreement had been reached whereby Farrington was to leave the country, Lewis was to accept a reduction in wages, and a shutdown in the Illinois coal fields was to be averted. See *Proceedings of the National Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, Reorganized March 10, 1930* (Oklahoma City, Okla., 1930), 213-31.

A second incident in the strained relations between state and international officials occurred in June, 1929, and set precedent for the final break. Charging misappropriation of \$10,500 of the \$50,000 which had been given by the international for the purpose of buying groceries during a strike in 1927, Lewis revoked the charter of Subdistrict 9 (Franklin County, Illinois). District 12—Illinois—supported Subdistrict 9 rather than the international president. Lewis retaliated by setting up a provisional government over the subdistrict. When the district board met in Springfield on October 5 and refused to recognize the provisional government, an angered Lewis revoked the charter of District 12 and set up a provisional government over the entire state.⁶

The affair became what might be called "a battle of injunctions." District officials secured a temporary injunction without notice or hearing, against Lewis and the international. This restrained Lewis from interfering with the affairs of District 12. The international officials immediately filed a motion to dissolve the temporary order, but the motion was denied by Judge Norman L. Jones of the Sangamon County Circuit Court. An appeal, taken to the appellate court, was denied. The international officials ignored the restraining order and set up a provisional government over District 12. The court cited the international officials for contempt and they were convicted at a hearing before Judge Charles G. Briggles of the Sangamon County Circuit Court. Lewis was forced to pay a fine of \$500.

In the meantime, a group of miners from southern Illinois, "supposedly actuated, guided, and financed by the international officials," secured a temporary injunction against the district officials, restraining them from functioning, collecting dues, or publishing their official organ, *The Illinois Miner*. Finally, however, a compromise was reached between Lewis

⁶ Louis Stanley, "The Miner's Rebellion," *The Nation*, Vol. 130, No. 3377 (March 1930), 356-57.

⁷ MSS from the personal files of Joe Goett, editor of *The Progressive Miner*, 1937.

and John H. Walker, president of District 12.⁸

Little more than a year later, a group of insurgents met at St. Louis, Missouri, from April 15 to April 18, 1931. The convention rejected Walker's compromises and condemned the course he had taken. They decided on the choice of a policy committee to keep the workers ready to form a new union when opportunity presented itself, and commended all locals which had refused to pay dues to the Lewis-Walker union.⁹ But as yet there was no definite break from the old union.

On July 6, 1931, another convention of the insurgent miners was held at Belleville, Illinois, in which it was claimed that at least seventy-five per cent of the miners of Illinois were represented.¹⁰ They renounced both Lewis and Walker, organized and called themselves "The Rank and File Miners of District No. 12, United Mine Workers of America." The officers elected—Ray Edmundson, president, and William Keck, secretary—went to Springfield and established an office, but within a short time, they gave up their positions and returned to the mines to work.¹¹ However, the activities of the disgruntled miners had pointed a course of action which was to be utilized more successfully in the not too distant future.

Before we begin a discussion of the events following the contract expiration in the Illinois coal field, which brought with it the Progressive Miners, there are a number of factors which should be mentioned. It is almost a truism that, in the interim between World Wars I and II, if every miner had worked steadily, i.e., five or six eight-hour days a week, there would have been a tremendous overproduction. Prices of coal would have been at a minimum. To avoid this, and thereby to

⁸ MSS from the personal files of Joe Goett.

⁹ Israel Mufson, "The Rank and File Convention at St. Louis," *Labor Age*, XX, No. 5 (v, 1931), 11.

¹⁰ Miner correspondents, "The Belleville Convention," *Labor Age*, XX, No. 8 (Aug., 1931), 11.

¹¹ Miner correspondents, "The Miners Situation Today," *Labor Age*, XX, No. 9 (Sept., 1931), 12.

insure, theoretically, a living wage for the worker and an adequate return for the investor, capital and labor cooperated establishing a monopoly price. During this period, labor-capital disputes were seldom as serious in the coal fields as in other industries. Failure to negotiate a new agreement at the expiration of a contract was often a tacit understanding to benefit both groups. Furthermore the constitution of the union provided that each new contract must be approved *by a majority of the miners in a referendum vote.*

All hopes that an agreement could be reached before the 1928 contract expired at midnight, March 31, 1932, dwindled when the operators said that competition with nonunion fields made it impossible for them to pay the \$6.10 basic wage scale of the expiring contract.¹² Traditionally it meant "No contract—no work." Not until July 9 did a joint committee of union representatives and operators reach agreement on a proposed contract which would provide a basic wage scale of five dollars per day, if approved by the miners in referendum vote.

Before the referendum could be held, however, opposition arose throughout the state. At West Frankfort on July 1, in an effort to prevent the vote, a mass meeting of miners passed a resolution demanding that district headquarters withhold the ballots.¹³ This demand was carried to Springfield the following day when hundreds of indignant miners drove to the capital city and gathered in front of District 12 headquarters in a peaceful demonstration. But their effort to prevent the vote on the proposed contract was unsuccessful. They were informed that the ballots were already in the mail and were warned that if they did not return home and vote, there might be enough "weak-kneed sisters" to put over the new scale.¹⁴

¹² *The Daily Advocate* [Bellefonte, Ill.], April 1, 1932.

¹³ A detailed account of the meeting can be found in *The Daily American* [West Frankfort, Ill.], July 11, 1932.

¹⁴ *The Daily American*, July 12, 13, 1932.

In the meantime, those who favored acceptance of the scale had been sponsoring radio broadcasts, publishing editorials in the leading newspapers of the area, and even persuading some merchants to curtail credit to the workers in an attempt to get the contract accepted.¹⁵ But in spite of these efforts, the referendum vote of July 16 proved conclusively that the miners were not willing to accept the agreement. With 224 out of 240 local unions reporting, there were 25,992 votes against and 10,241 votes in favor of the scale.¹⁶

Negotiations for a second proposal were renewed almost immediately. This time, W. J. Jenkins, president of the Illinois Mine Operators, asked John H. Walker, District 12 president, to invite John L. Lewis' attendance at the conference, despite the 1929 injunction which prohibited Lewis from intervening in district affairs. On July 25, Lewis arrived in Springfield to announce, "It is safe to assume that an agreement will be reached late today." And it was. But the new proposal contained only a few slight changes from the original and in its basic features was the same, providing as before for the reduction from the \$6.10 wage scale to a basic \$5.00 rate.¹⁷

Again opposition arose throughout the district. On August 1, John H. Walker went to Johnston City, a coal-mining town about six miles south of West Frankfort, to speak to the miners of that community. When he appeared on the speakers' stand, he was greeted by a chorus of boos and jeers. The Rev. A. L. Cox, Baptist minister, arose to give the invocation and was hissed as he attempted to lead in prayer. Further attempts were made to quiet the crowd, but John H. Walker refused not to address the men that day in Johnston City. As he was being escorted out of town by the sheriff, several stones were thrown at the car. Walker, however, escaped uninjured.¹⁸

¹⁵ Radio broadcasts: KMOX, St. Louis, Mo., July 15, 1932; WEBQ, Harrisburg, Ill., July 13, 1932. Editorial, "Miners at the Crossroads," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 15, 1932.

¹⁶ *The Daily Advocate*, July 20, 1932.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 22, 25, 26, 1932.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1932.

Faced with reports of similar sentiments in various parts of the state, the union officials decided to postpone the referendum vote. It was announced that an "educational campaign" would be conducted throughout the state¹⁹ in an effort to avoid what apparently would have been almost certain defeat of the proposed agreement.

John L. Lewis, as part of this "campaign," made a personal appearance on August 3 at the fairgrounds in Benton to speak to the miners of southern Illinois. In accordance with a proclamation issued by the mayor, all business houses were closed that afternoon. On the platform with the speaker was the Rev. A. L. Cox, who was this time allowed to perform his part of the program. Lewis was introduced. "I come again," he began. "I will always come when the needs of the United Mine Workers of America require it or when the needs of your community require it . . . [to utter] such words of counsel as my knowledge, my understanding may make possible." He followed with a long appeal to the patriotism of his listeners. Gradually he worked into a discussion of the referendum. A storm broke, but Lewis continued in his deep, booming voice. When the amplifying mechanism was thrown out of order, Lewis carried on with his own effective amplification facilities. As was his custom, he used no notes. He told the miners of Franklin County that the contract was the best that could be arranged at that time. "I shall close," he concluded. "I shall go. I shall ever return if the occasion require it. I shall go, content that in Franklin County reason and intelligence will reign, that on Saturday next the tradition and policies of the United Mine Workers of America will be preserved."²⁰

Meanwhile, at District 12 headquarters in Springfield developments were occurring rapidly which would lead to a break in the union.

¹⁹ *East St. Louis* (Ill.) *Daily Journal*, Aug. 1, 1932.

²⁰ A complete account of the meeting, including the speech, can be found in the *Benton* (Ill.) *Evening News*, Aug. 3, 1932.

On Saturday, August 6, the miners finally cast their ballots on the postponed referendum on the second proposal. On the following Monday, officials began a canvass of the vote. A news article by the United Press stated, "at the offices of John J. Walker, district president, and John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, there was still hope that the agreement had been accepted despite unofficial returns from all parts of the state which showed the proposal had apparently been beaten."²¹

On August 9, William J. Sneed, Herrin, a member of the group who had helped in reaching the proposed agreement, announced, "The agreement has carried. By just how much of a majority the miners have approved it, I cannot say, but I know the official tally will show the proposal has been approved. This means that the miners will be back on their jobs within a few days."²²

But on the following day, the United Press issued this news article:

Return sheets on which votes cast by various local unions in a recent referendum on a proposed \$5 a day basic wage scale were tabulated and stolen from two tellers of the Illinois district mine union today in a holdup as they were enroute to headquarters where they were to continue tabulation of the returns.

The tellers announced the holdup as they reached district headquarters. They were Orlie Blackman, Carrier Mills; and George E. Gee, Sycamore. A third teller, George J. Dahm, Belleville, did not accompany them but went directly to district offices.

The men had obtained the return sheets from a vault in the Ridgely Farmers State bank where they had been placed overnight for safe-keeping. The holdup occurred in an alley in the rear of the mine workers building.

Blackman and Gee said they had obtained the return sheets and walked down an alley to the mine workers building in order to avert a crowd of miners stationed in front of the entrance of the building. They said two men approached them from an intersection of the alley and ordered them to turn over the package containing the return sheets. After

²¹ *The Daily American*, Aug. 8, 1932.

²² *Ibid.*, Aug. 9, 1932.

obtaining the package, the holdup men fled down the alley and escaped in an automobile, the tellers said.

Blackman said he was carrying the package containing the ballot. "When we neared an intersection of the alley, two men approached me and Gee. One of them placed his hand in his pocket and pressed something hard against my side and demanded that I hand over the package containing the election returns to him. I complied with the demand, thinking the robbers were armed. They fled down an alley and escaped in an automobile."

Blackman and Gee reported the holdup to district officials who then notified local police authorities.²³

The following interesting document, however, an affidavit sworn to by Henry Bertoni, an elected "watcher" from Buckner, Illinois, Franklin County, on August 10, offers a different description of the holdup:

STATE OF ILLINOIS }
COUNTY OF SANGAMON } SS

A Sworn Affidavit

Henry Bertoni, of Buckner, Illinois, being duly sworn on oath deposes and says, that he is Twenty-Nine (29) years of age last past, and has resided in the State of Illinois for more than 20 years, and has always been engaged in the mining business.

Affiant further states, that he was elected from Local Union 142, Buckner, Illinois, to be a Watcher, at the recent election held by the miners, relative to the new wage scale.

Affiant further states, that on August 10th, A. D., 1932, about 9:00 A.M., he was standing outside of the Ridgely Farmers State Bank, Springfield, located at 5th and Monroe Streets, waiting for the arrival of the tellers of District No. 12, U. M. W. of A., who were to procure the Tally Sheets and Local Return Sheets from the above described bank, who were to take the Tally Sheets and Local Return Sheets from there to the United Mine Workers Building for Tallying.

Affiant further states, that while he was waiting at the above described place, he saw Orlie Blackman and George E. Gee, who were two of the Tellers of District No. 12 of the U. M. W. of A., come out of the said Bank; Orlie Blackman had a package under his arm, and said package was brown colored and approximately 4x12x4 in size, said Orlie Blackman and George E. Gee then went East on Monroe Street and turned South on 6th Street and stopped in front of the Illinois State Journal Building for a short time, when Fox Hughes, Vice President of District No. 12, U. M. W. of A., drove up in a car, bearing license No. 3165, Illinois, 1932.

²³ *The Daily American*, Aug. 10, 1932.

Affiant further states, that George E. Gee motioned to Orlie Blackman, who was standing a short distance away, to come to him when Fox Hughes drove up in the car, Orlie Blackman walked out to the car which was about eight feet from the curbing.

Affiant further states, that Orlie Blackman dropped the above described bundle referred to as 4x12x4 and brown colored in said car of Fox Hughes, Vice-President of District No. 12, U. M. W. of A. Fox Hughes then drove south on 6th Street and Orlie Blackman and George E. Gee, also went south on 6th Street on foot to the alley between Monroe Street and Capitol Avenue, Springfield, Illinois, and then went up the alley west.

Affiant further states, that he went north on 6th Street to Monroe Street and went west on Monroe Street to the Illinois Miners Building, at the corner of 4th and Monroe Streets, Springfield, Illinois, and as Affiant entered into the front door, George E. Gee and Orlie Blackman came in the back door of said building and Affiant rode on the elevator with the said Orlie Blackman and George E. Gee, to the United Mine Workers office.

Affiant further states that he immediately informed the Watchers of the various locals all that he had seen and what had taken place, and said notification was made in the presence of Orlie Blackman and George E. Gee in said building and office.

Affiant further states that all that is incorporated in the above affidavit took place in from 10 to 12 minutes.

(Signed) Henry Bertoni

Subscribed and sworn to before me on this 10th day of August, A.D., 1932.

Notarial Seal C. C. Scott
Notary Public²⁴

District officials, when notified of the holdup, declared that it would have no effect on the referendum other than to delay the final announcement of the vote. They explained that the ballots cast in the referendum and duplicates of return sheets were still on file in the various local union offices and that, if necessary, new return sheets could be compiled and sent into district offices.²⁵

When John H. Walker was informed of the robbery, he

²⁴ The original affidavit is in the hands of Dan McGill, Springfield, Ill. This is from a copy of the original in the files of the Progressive Miners of America office, Gillespie, Ill. Mr. Bertoni, in the author's presence, signed a copy of the affidavit and assured him that it was authentic.

²⁵ *The Daily American*, Aug. 10, 1932.

said that a tabulation sheet showing the returns counted the preceding day had been placed in the safe of the district headquarters. Approximately one hundred and six local unions were said to have been included, but he insisted that he could not make public the report at that time. He stated, furthermore, that he and other district officials would confer with Lewis that afternoon and map out a plan for the procedure as a result of the theft. Either local union secretaries would be asked to send duplicate returns or the result would be proclaimed on the basis of returns that had been counted.²⁶

The meeting proposed by John H. Walker for that afternoon was held, and the following statement was released by John L. Lewis:

The meeting this afternoon was made necessary through an emergency today created by the loss of ballots of the referendum. The loss of the ballots threw the entire machinery of the state into confusion and rendered impossible any official calculation of the votes.

In accordance with the laws of the organization, an official canvass was made of the votes of the membership. The officers are of the conclusive opinion that the agreement was ratified by a majority of the membership. Unofficial tabulation heretofore made supports that judgment.²⁷

In addition to that fact the laws of the United Mine Workers of America endow the executive officers of the union with power to take necessary action in an emergency. This emergency has been promptly met through the execution of an agreement.

Instructions will go forth to local union and district membership advising of the signing of the agreement and instructing them to comply with the terms. The mines of the state will resume operation as quickly

²⁶ *The Daily American*, Aug. 10, 1932.

²⁷ Since a formal report of the vote was not published one must rely on other sources for information. Leading newspapers in each subdistrict had a custom of compiling and printing summaries of the vote as telephoned by local union secretaries, so that the miner could know how his district had voted several days before the state returns were released. The following summary was compiled by the writer through the use of the Aug. 7 issue of the *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield) and of the Aug. 8 issues of the *Danville Commercial News* (Danville), *Daily American* (West Frankfort), *The Daily Palladium* (Pana), *The Daily Advocate* (Belleville) and the *Evening Sentinel* (Centralia):

District	For	Against
West Frankfort	3,153	5,029
Danville	981	929
Taylorville	1,412	1,405
Springfield	1,296	6,164
Belleville	212	604
Centralia	429	142

they can be made ready and as early as market conditions will permit.

Confusion in the industry is thus terminated. Resumption of normal activities will ensue and the power of the union organization will be used to carry out the obligation of the agreement, compel obedience to the provisions and exact compliance with the laws of the United Mine Workers of America and the statutes of the state and nation.

This disorder which has reigned in certain communities must be stayed and lawless characters who have been creating trouble will be dealt with in a proper way.

This agreement represents the sincere and earnest judgment of representatives of the Illinois Coal Operators Assn., and representatives of the miners who have for five months labored to solve the economic and commercial problem of the great basic industry of the state. The agreement intended, as nearly as possible, to place the industry on a commercial parity with coal from other states entering the natural markets of the Illinois industry.

Representatives of the miners and operators hope that this has been accomplished and trust that both sides will apply themselves to normal actions of the industry in a manner that will be a contribution to the welfare of the employees, the operators and the public.²⁸

It is only fair to suggest at this point that John L. Lewis and his followers may have been sincere in their belief that the agreement represents every concession that, at this time, can be wrung from the impoverished coal companies in a sickened and almost expiring industry."²⁹ There was probably a real threat that nonunion miners in Kentucky, Indiana, and West Virginia, would produce coal of equal or better quality and undersell the Illinois operators in the Chicago market, if the latter group were forced to pay wages of six dollars and ten cents, while others were paying about three dollars and ten cents. Perhaps Lewis, feeling that his judgment was better than that of his miners, thought he was acting wisely when he signed the emergency contract.

But the problem was not to be thus easily solved. Rallying their forces, the opposition first turned to Christian County where the Peabody Coal Company was operating four of its

²⁸ *The Daily American*, Aug. 10, 1932.

²⁹ MSS from the personal files of Edwin Bowen, associate editor, *The Progressive Miner*, Springfield, Ill., 1937.

largest mines. Although company and county officials at first objected to outsiders entering the area, they soon agreed to permit "peaceful picketing." Thereupon, protesting United Mine Workers moved into the area and within two days, having succeeded successfully and peacefully picketed the mines, they withdrew their men.³⁰

Inspired by this victory, the group turned to southern Illinois, where several mines, particularly in Franklin County, were operating. On August 24, 1932, a caravan of approximately eight hundred automobiles, filled with miners, moved southward. Halted several times, they finally reached the junction of U. S. Highway No. 51 and Illinois Highway No. 14, where the head of the column turned into Franklin County. As they moved across Little Muddy River, the boundary between Perry and Franklin counties, and up a long hill, they were stopped by Sheriff Browning Robinson and his special deputies. Cars were jammed when the men attempted to turn around; guns were fired; and clubs and baseball bats landed on the heads of the protesting group. One shudders at the thought of what might have happened had the members of the caravan been armed. Apparently they had come to picket peacefully. Following this "Battle of Mulkey town" the dissenting miners, still members of the United Mine Workers of America, abandoned plans for a second move into Franklin County.³¹

Then on September 1, 1932, almost three hundred delegates convened at Benld, Illinois, and approved the following resolution drawn up by their policy committee:

1. That a definite break from the officers of the United Mine Workers of America be immediately carried out and a new union organized;
2. That the new union be called the Progressive Miners of America.

...³²

³⁰ *The Daily Advocate*, Aug. 18, 19, 1932.

³¹ See the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, *The Daily Advocate*, *The Daily American*, *Benton Evening News*, or *Illinois State Register*, Aug. 22-26, 1932, issues, for a complete coverage.

³² MSS from the files of the Progressive Miners' Headquarters, Gillespie, Ill., 1937.

he break had come. A new union was born.

Determined to prevent the recurrence of events similar to the Springfield "holdup," the constitution of the Progressives carefully placed control within the hands of the rank and file. To prevent one man from getting too much control, the Progressives contended that Lewis had done, a special article limited an officer's term in the same position to two years. It was possible for him to serve a second successive term in another office, but four years was the maximum length of continuous service. One regained eligibility for re-election by returning to some active work in or around the mine for a period of at least two years. Such a system, the Progressives hoped, would keep their officers in touch with the men whom they represented.³³

Claiming a large majority of the mineworkers in Illinois, the Progressives sought recognition. In vain they requested Governor Horner to conduct a referendum to determine which organization the men preferred.³⁴ A special committee was appointed by the Illinois General Assembly to investigate mining conditions throughout the state. Senator W. E. C. Clifford, Champaign, the chairman, submitted the committee's report on June 30, 1933, which advocated "one union under wise leadership and a fair distribution of the work among the men" and employment of miners "who live in the county in which a mine is located." The report deprecated the use of violence and promised that law enforcement officials would assure to the members of each union . . . a fearless, impartial enforcement of the law."³⁵

³³ The writer has prepared this report by using: (1) *Constitution of District No. 1, Progressive Miners of America*, adopted at Gillespie, Ill., Oct. 8, 1932; (2) *Constitution of International Union, United Mine Workers of America*, adopted at Indianapolis, Ind., 1930; (3) since the Constitution of the UMW was not a 1932 edition, the writer has studied carefully the *Proceedings of the Thirty-second Consecutive Constitutional Convention of the United Mine Workers of America*, Vols. I and II, of the meeting held at Indianapolis, Ind., Jan. 26 to Feb. 5, 1932. In this manner, comparison was made by using the constitutions of each union for the year 1932.

³⁴ *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield, Ill.), Jan., 1933.

³⁵ *United Mine Workers Journal*, July 15, 1933.

Hearings were conducted under Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which theoretically guaranteed all workers the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. But the Progressive Miners announced that they considered it folly to submit disputes involving their members' rights to the National Labor Board as long as John L. Lewis was a member of that body.³⁶

In the spring of 1934, the Illinois state legislature solved:

That the House of Representatives of the State of Illinois, the Senate concurring herein, . . . request and urge the President of the United States to . . . use the machinery provided for by the National Industrial Recovery Act to have a secret ballot among the miners of Illinois, so that the employees in that industry may select their labor organization and labor representatives of their own choosing. . . . [and] . . . That we request the Governor of this State to use his influence to bring about said secret ballot. . . .³⁷

However, this suggestion that the bitter controversy be settled by a state-wide, impartially conducted election was never carried out.

After the passage of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, the Progressive Miners won, on paper, a theoretical victory over the United Mine Workers in the Mine B Coal Company case. The mine, one of the largest in the Springfield area, had operated under a Progressive contract from 1932 until 1937.³⁸ On August 11, 1937, Ray Edmundson, provisional president of District 12, U.M.W. of A. said that the employees of Mine B had petitioned his office for a charter. According to Edmundson, 357 names, representing a majority, were on the petition.³⁹ Nine days later Carl H. Elshoff, president of the company, announced that a contract had been negotiated with

³⁶ *Illinois State Journal*, Oct. 20, 1933.

³⁷ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-eighth General Assembly of the State of Illinois*, third special session, 1934, 200-201.

³⁸ *Illinois State Journal*, Aug. 20, 1937.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1937.

the United Mine Workers.⁴⁰ The Progressives immediately protested to the National Labor Relations Board, which investigated and ordered an election. By an overwhelming majority of more than sixteen to one the Progressive union was the victor.

Edmundson, however, contended that the vote did not truly represent the sentiment of the workers and announced that the mine would operate under a United contract or not at all.⁴¹ Chicago regional representatives of the N. L. R. B. could find nothing in the conduct of the election prejudicial to the United Mine Workers.⁴² Whereupon, Elshoff announced:

At the present time the Mine B Coal Company has no contract with the Progressive Miners of America and by inference the national labor relations board has held it has no contract with the United Mine Workers of America. Consequently, at the present time it has no contract with anyone.

The Mine B Coal Company has been the victim of a quarrel between two labor unions, over which it has no control, resulting in illegal strikes, and such confusion that it has been unprofitable to operate the mine for several years.

Therefore the mine will be closed down indefinitely.⁴³

Mine B was not reopened until November, 1939, when the labor board named the Progressives the bargaining agent.

Acts of violence have marked one phase of Progressive Miner history. Bombings of railroads, bridges, houses, and mines "due to inter-union rivalry" were frequent occurrences throughout 1935. More than a score of human lives have been taken. The Progressives have been involved in numerous lawsuits, usually brought in federal court, either against the union itself or against individual members. A federal investigation of the 1935 violence led to the trial and conviction of thirty-nine men, most of them Progressives.⁴⁴ Other cases have varied

⁴⁰ *Illinois State Journal*, Aug. 20, 1937.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1937.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1938.

⁴³ *Ibid.* Also cf. Drew Pearson, "Lewis in Mine Plot," in Washington Merry-Go-round, *The Des Moines Register* (Des Moines, Ia.), Nov. 22, 1946.

⁴⁴ *Illinois State Journal*, Dec. 10, 1936 to May 11, 1939.

from personal damage suits to conspiracy in obstructing the U. S. mails.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, developments in the growing quarrel between John L. Lewis and the American Federation of Labor, after the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization were watched carefully by the Progressives. When in August 1936, the American Federation of Labor expelled the ten insurgent CIO unions, the Progressives applied for a certificate of affiliation with the AFL.⁴⁶ They affiliated on June 2, 1937 and the council of the Federation granted the new miner union a charter, April 28, 1938.⁴⁷ The Progressive Miners of America had now become the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America.

When John L. Lewis took his United Mine Workers back into the AFL fold in January, 1946, however, the obstinate little Progressive union thumbed its nose at the dignity of the AFL and the power of the UMW by withdrawing and declaring itself an independent. The same house could not hold both John L. Lewis and the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

⁴⁵ *Karnes v. Keck, et. al.*, Federal Supplement, XI: 577-579; *Baker v. Keck, et. al.*, Federal Supplement, XIII: 485-489; *United Electric Coal Companies v. Rice, et. al.*, Federal Supplement IX: 635-643; also Federal Supplement, XXII: 221-232; MSS, President's office, PMA headquarters, District No. 1, Springfield, 1940.

⁴⁶ *The Progressive Miner*, June 7, 1937.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1938.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

CAPTAIN JOHN BAPTISTE SAUCIER. By John F. Snyder, M.D. Peoria, Smith & Schaefer, Printers, 1901.

This rare and charming little book tells the life story of a French army officer who served at Fort Chartres, Illinois, from 1751 to 1763. Jean Baptiste Saucier was born in the Loire Valley near Orleans, France, on July 25, 1726. His parents had enjoyed a courtship more dramatic and romantic than most lovers. Jean Baptiste's father, a widower, became lost in the woods one night. His horse took him to a strange house. The Frenchman dismounted, strode up the steps, and to his surprise the door opened and a charming young woman flung her arms around him. She had mistaken him for her father. The friendship begun in this impetuous fashion soon led to the altar. Jean Baptiste was the first child of this union and his mother died in childbirth. The baby was reared by his father's factotum and wife, Pierre and Marie. These good people had a daughter Jean's age and the two children, Jean and Adel, were brought up together. After graduating from the Academy at Orleans, Jean entered the Royal Military Academy in Paris. Let Dr. Snyder pick up the story here:

He returned to his cottage home on a brief leave of absence, arrayed in the tinsel trappings of his newly attained rank, a superb type of physical manhood and gallant soldier. All gazed on him with pride, and feelings akin to adoration. Pierre no longer called him pet names, but doffed his hat in respectful obeisance; and Marie, in happy amazement, addressed him as *Monsieur* Jean Baptiste. Adel could scarcely realize that the handsome young military officer, in showy uniform, now before her, was the impetuous boy companion of her childhood; and she awoke to the consciousness that her sisterly affection for him had somehow changed to a different and loftier sentiment. This discovery caused her to be strangely demure and reserved in his presence. Too soon the limit of his furlough expired; and he received orders from the War Department at Paris, to report for duty at once to Major Makarty at Brienne. Then came the trying ordeal of taking final leave of his dear old home where he had passed all the early and happiest years of his life, and of the loved ones he was destined never to see again.

Feeling his fortitude about to desert him, he tore himself away, after receiving the tremulous blessing of his gray-haired father, the tearful farewell of big-hearted Pierre, and fervent embrace of his beloved foster-mother, Marie, and lastly, the parting kiss of Adel; now a charm-

ing maiden with lustrous black eyes, rosy cheeks and queenly figure, who with mighty effort, repressed her tears until the young soldier had disappeared down the winding road leading to the village.

France and England were engaged in their half century of conflict for world empire. In Illinois, the French commandant Pierre Duquesne Boisbriant built the famous Fort de Chartres to hold the western country for his king. Dr. Snyder describes it in detail:

The site selected by Boisbriant for his fort in the Illinois, was near the east bank of the Mississippi, on the flat alluvial bottom land, sixteen miles above Kaskaskia; having a long slough, or lake, the remains of an ancient channel of the river, on the east midway between it and the bluff four miles away. This slough, he supposed, would add materially to the strategic strength of the position. The fort he erected there was a wooden stockade reinforced on the interior with earth taken from the excavation of the exterior moats. It was completed in 1720, and named Fort de Chartres, as a compliment to the Regent, whose son was Le Duc de Chartres.

This fort was for many years the *chef-lieu*, or seat of civil as well as military government of the Illinois district embracing the territory from the mouth of the Ohio to Canada between the Mississippi and Wabash rivers. In 1731, the Company of the West failed and surrendered the charter to the king. The Illinois was by this act receded to the crown of France.

For the protection of Kaskaskia from threatened incursions of the fierce Chickasaws, below the mouth of the Ohio, a stockade fort, was in the year 1733, erected on the bluff just east of the town, and a portion of the troops at Fort Chartres were sent there to garrison it. This Kaskaskia fort has been known, erroneously, since the conquest of the Illinois by George Rogers Clark, as "Fort Gage." Its name, and the name of its builder, are lost. It was a French fort, and when the disheartening news of the cession of the country by the craven King of France to the English, in 1763, reached the town of Kaskaskia, the indignant citizens set fire to the fort and destroyed it, determined that the hated ensign of England should not float over it. The "Fort Gage" entered by Colonel George Rogers Clark, on the night of the 4th of July, 1778, was the stockaded Jesuit buildings in the town occupied by the British under the command of M. Rocheblave.

In 1752, plans were made to build a new Fort Chartres of stone a short way from the wooden structure. The engineers were sent from France. Major Makarty was in charge of them and Jean Saucier came as an officer in the command. Makarty's name has an Irish sound and tradition said that he was descended from the Irish nobles who fled the country during the disastrous wars with Britain. More important than Jean Saucier was his commander's handsome daughter. The author of this little volume tells us:

Lieutenant Jean Baptiste Saucier reported for duty to Major Makarty Brienne; and there, before sailing with his command from France, received from the Minister of Marine specific instructions regarding the character of fort the king desired to be erected. During the long tedious voyage across the Atlantic, and the laborious ascent of the Mississippi, the young lieutenant was much in the company of the Major's daughter, Camille Eulalie. And after their arrival at the old Fort, his relations with the Commandant continued confidential and intimate, his assignment as Chief Designer requiring his presence at headquarters much of his time. While there at work the young lady was frequently at his side, assisting in his drawings and calculations; and, when off duty, he was often her companion in morning excursions, and in the evening cotillions and waltzes. This continued association of the handsome young officer and the brilliant girl, in their distant exile, naturally engendered in both sentiments of mutual regard higher and more fervent than mere respect. And indeed, with her, this sentiment gradually deepened to an absorbing passion. He would probably have fully reciprocated this feeling, but for the everpresent image before him of his childhood's playmate, schoolmate, and more than sister, the stately Adel, far away on the sun-kissed banks of the Loire. He admired Eulalie, but loved Adel.

With this romantic triangle Eulalie had the misfortune—or good fortune—to upset in a boat in the Mississippi. Jean Saucier rescued her from drowning and his affection for her changed. Again we must let the author tell in his own words, Jean's new emotional predicament:

He was fully aware of Eulalie's fervent regard for him; now intensified by gratitude for having saved her life at the risk of his own; and his sense of honor upbraided him for permitting her to be longer deceived respecting the true sentiments he entertained for her. He concluded he could frankly tell her that another had a prior claim to his affections. At that time, Adel had never spoken or written to him of love, save that of sister; and, for aught he knew, she might then be the plighted fiancée of another. Having nerved himself to the point of making a full disclosure of his perplexing thoughts and sentiments to Eulalie, he called upon her for that purpose. His resolution, however, failed him when, seated by her bedside, he took her feverish hand in his and looked into her shrunken, haggard face. He saw that her frail condition could not bear such a revelation; and he esteemed her too highly to subject her to the anguish of mind it would cause, and thereby endanger her slender life; and, so, postponed his intended confession to a more propitious time.

Not long after this interview occurred, the time came for the annual boat trip down to New Orleans for supplies. Lieutenant Saucier was commissioned to lead the expedition. He bid Eulalie farewell, promised to come back as soon as possible and said that he hoped to find her restored health. In the Crescent City, Lieutenant Saucier learned that

Adel had started to America with her foster parents—all had died on shipboard. The distraught lieutenant returned to Fort Chartres with supply boats. In Illinois he found Eulalie in the last stage of tuberculosis. His presence gave her a few days of comfort before the end.

Fort Chartres was not completed when the French and Indian War commenced. In May, 1754, young George Washington, with Virginia militia, met a party of Frenchmen in western Pennsylvania and fought a skirmish. The Virginians were victorious but when news of the encounter reached Fort Chartres an expedition moved up the Ohio seeking vengeance. Lieutenant Saucier was with them. The Frenchmen overtook the Virginians at Great Meadows and, after a nine-hour battle, drove them east of the Alleghenies, and Lieutenant Saucier became a captain.

Next year Captain Saucier went to New Orleans once more with supply boats. He was entertained by wealthy New Orleanians—especially at the Delorme Mansion where Mam'selle Rosalie was young and eligible. At this residence the lieutenant saw a mysterious woman in black—apparently a poor relative in the household who sewed for the family. Something about her slim figure attracted the lieutenant, but the time allotted for his visit in New Orleans came to an end and he had not seen her. On the Sunday morning before returning with the boats, the lieutenant took an early morning stroll. Again let the author tell his story:

He walked on slowly, in deep reverie, heedless of his course; past the silent rows of closed shops and stores, and on through the little passages, or commons, then towards the Ursuline Convent and Chapel, seeing no one astir but the devout few on their way to the Chapel to attend *la messe*, or matin services. Arousing himself from his meditations to his bearings and see where he had wandered to, he noted that he was then passing the Chapel into which a few shuffling old people and young girls were noiselessly creeping, like straggling bees into a hive. He stopped and concluded to retrace his steps, and regain the river and his boat by the most direct route. He walked back a short distance; but a sudden impulse caused him to again turn and continue in the direction he had been walking, as by that course he could, with a few detours, reach the boat landing without much loss of time or distance. Going on he passed by some of the better class residences where he had been, in the last few weeks, royally entertained; and, for a moment felt a pang of regret in exchanging those generous luxuries for the rough fare of the river and camp.

A little farther on he came in sight of the well-known gables and piazzas, and spacious grounds of the Delorme mansion now wrapped in the stillness of profound repose. As he proceeded [*sic*] toward the house, along the apology for a sidewalk, the side gate of the flower garden next to the street suddenly opened, and the black-garbed figure of the young woman he had occasionally seen about the mansion, emerged, with rosary and prayer book in hand, and head bowed in devotional attitude,

evidently on her way to matin worship at the Chapel. She came on toward him with downcast eyes, walking slowly, as though in deep thought, or burdened with some secret sorrow. Though penniless and alone in the world, and consigned by fate to a life of toil and obscurity, . . . she moved with grace and dignity strangely at variance with her lowly station.

As they approached each other on the narrow walk, she raised her eyes slightly as he was about to step aside to let her pass by. His gaze was fixed upon her, and as she momentarily looked up he saw her face for the first time. Starting back in bewildered amazement, he exclaimed 'Merciful God! Can this be but a mocking dream! Pardon me, Madame, will you please tell me who you are?' She did not faint or scream; but stood—like a statue—transfixed with surprise. The color left her cheeks for a moment; but regaining her presence of mind she answered firmly, 'My name is Adel Lepage.'

Of course the young people married and they returned to Fort Chartres on their honeymoon. The great fortress was almost completed but it was of no use to the King of France. Defeated at Quebec in 1759, Louis XV surrendered his American domain. Many of his officers returned to France but Captain Saucier resigned from the army and purchased a home in Cahokia. Here Adel died in October, 1765. Five years later Captain Saucier married again. By this second marriage he had a son and three daughters. One of the daughters, Adelaide, became the mother-in-law of a young Pennsylvanian named Adam W. Snyder, whose youngest son, John Francis, onetime president of the Illinois State Historical Society, wrote this little book about his ancestors.

HISTORICAL NOTES

AN UNUSUAL PORTRAIT OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

In Illinois the face of Stephen A. Douglas is almost as well known as Abraham Lincoln's. An extremely short, deep-chested man, he is always depicted with a smooth-shaven face. The *Journal* editors were surprised to find in *Harper's Weekly* for December 26, 1857, a picture of the Little Giant with a beard. Accompanying the portrait in *Harper's* is the following:

The public will recognize the portrait given on this page; few Americans are ignorant of the features of Stephen A. Douglas. Certainly no statesman in this country stands so prominently before the public at the present time as the famous Senator from Illinois.

A notation on the picture states that it is from a photograph by Whitehurst, Washington, D. C.

A NOTE ON THE EARLY TRAVELS OF JOHN JAMES AUDUBON IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

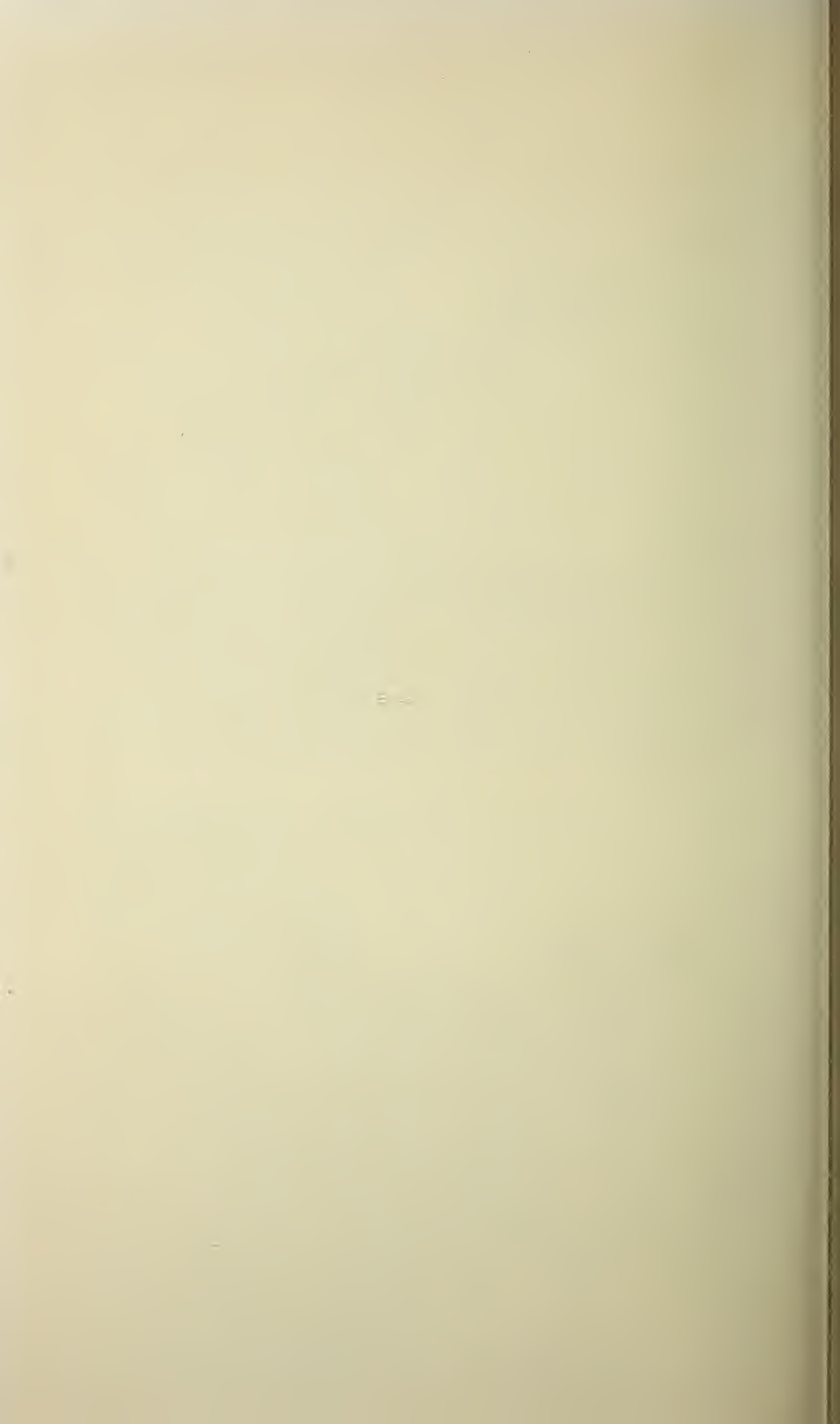
The travels of John James Audubon have long been of interest to the people of America, and a revival of that interest has taken place since the republication, at popular prices, of his *Birds Of America*.¹ His first travels in southern Illinois are of special interest to those persons intimately acquainted with the territory of Illinois known as Egypt, which, in its long and illustrious history, has been the veritable crossroads of America.

In 1808, Audubon, with a friend, Ferdinand Rozier, a young Frenchman who had returned with him from France, had set up a mercantile business in Louisville, Kentucky. Finding competition unduly keen, they removed to Henderson, Kentucky. The competition in that city was extremely keen also, and the two partners resolved to move their goods and business to Ste. Genevieve, on the Mississippi River. Accordingly in December of 1810, the two partners loaded their goods, consisting "three hundred barrels of whiskey, sundry goods, and powder on a keel boat" and started down the Ohio River to the Mississippi, which they

¹ Several editions of this celebrated work have been issued within recent years.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS



planned to ascend to Ste. Genevieve. They were accompanied by John Pope, a clerk employed by the firm.²

On the third day of the trip the party entered Cache Creek, now called Cache River, a small stream which enters the Ohio a few miles above the present city of Cairo, Illinois. There they found "deep water and a good harbour." They also discovered that the Mississippi was covered with floating ice, which news was communicated to them by one Count DeMunn,³ a Frenchman who, in a keel boat similar to that of the partners, was also making his way to Ste. Genevieve. Suspecting that the ice in the Mississippi would make it impossible to ascend that river, the partners decided to stay on Cache Creek until the ice broke up and made the river less dangerous for travel.

Audubon was thoroughly delighted with the opportunity of studying the birds of the area, especially since the creek was "crowded with wild birds," and the sycamores along the creek afforded a roosting place for parakeets. Also, "an encampment of about fifty families of Shawnee Indians, attracted to the spot by the mast of the forest, which brought together herds of deer, and many bears and racoons" was not far distant, and Audubon lost no time in visiting the camp.

The second morning after the arrival at Cache Creek, Audubon accompanied a party of Indian hunters to a lake, which he called Swan Lake, where immense flocks of swans resorted every morning. Audubon stated that "when the lake burst on our view there were the swans by the hundreds, and white as rich cream." The party killed fifty or more "whose skins were intended for the ladies in Europe." Short work was made of skinning the fowls (the work being done by squaws brought along for that purpose) and the hunters returned to Cache Creek. Apparently a large trade was done in these skins, for the Indians seem to have made regular trips for the purpose of securing them. This lake was undoubtedly the celebrated Horseshoe Lake of southern Illinois, a spot now officially aside as a game preserve because of the large number of waterfowl which gather there during the migrating season.

After a stay of some time at Cache Creek, during which Audubon saw a young hunter enter an immense decayed log in the cane brake and kill a bear (Audubon himself took refuge up a sapling during the fight), the young naturalist crossed the "bend" to the Mississippi to see if the logs were still too solid for the keel boat to ascend the river. He reached the river at a point opposite Cape Girardeau, now in Missouri. There

² John James Audubon, *The Life of John James Audubon, the Naturalist*. Edited by his son (New York, 1869), 35. See also Francis Hobart Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist* (New York, 1917), I: 238 ff.

³ Possibly Jules or Auguste de Mun but if so the title "count" was incorrectly used.

he attracted the attention of some people on the other side, and a young man, Loume⁴ by name, who said that he was the son of the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, came across the river. This man contracted with Audubon to furnish six hands and, with Audubon's four, to take the boat up the river. When the agreement was made, the party returned to Cache Creek where "tugs of hides and shaving oars" were made.

The party left Cache Creek at daylight and continued easily down to the mouth of the Ohio, but when they turned the point and began to ascend the Mississippi, which they found full of "shoals of ice" and with a current of three miles per hour, it was a different matter. One man was left in the boat to steer, and the others went ashore "to haul the cordell" as it was called. A rope was fastened to the bow of the boat and the men, laying it over their shoulders, tugged the boat against the current. The party made seven miles that day and ten miles the second day. After two more days, that is on the fourth day after leaving Cache Creek, the weather became very severe, and Loume ordered the party into winter quarters "in the great bend of the Tawapatee Bottom,"⁵ the great oxbow formed by the Mississippi between Cairo, Illinois, and Cape Girardeau, Missouri. There the party stayed for some time, and Audubon presently found an encampment of Osage Indians. It was his first contact with those Indians, who "spoke no French, and only a few words of English," and he spent much time in studying them and their habits, entertaining them frequently by drawing their portraits in red chalk.

The supplies of the party soon gave out, and Audubon, with two others, set out for Cape Girardeau where he obtained "a barrel of flour, several bags of Indian meal and a few loaves of bread." Upon his return he found the boat in danger from the ice, and precautions were taken to prevent its being smashed. The party could not move and amused itself with music, Pope playing the violin and Audubon, the flute.

Finally, however, the ice in the river partially broke up so that a narrow channel appeared clear and the party proceeded to Cape Girardeau, pushing with long poles against the ice or the bottom whenever it could be touched. That town was quite small, however, and they continued on their way toward Ste. Genevieve.

In a few days, they arrived at "the grand tower" where a huge rock in the river made navigation dangerous. It was near this "famous tower of granite," situated in the river opposite the present village of Grand Tower, Illinois, that Audubon first saw the great eagle which he "named after our good and great General Washington," the *Haliaeetus Washingtoni*.

⁴ Possibly Louis Lorimier whose father was commandant at Cape Girardeau, not "Cronor" of Louisiana!

⁵ More commonly spelled Tywappity.

Here then, on the Mississippi River, in the heart of America, the naturalist first saw the bird which is the symbol of the United States of America.⁶

The party continued on to Ste. Genevieve where they sold their furs, but which, though it was then an old French town, was not to Audubon's liking. Accordingly, he sold his interests to Rozier, who had married in Ste. Genevieve, and prepared to return to Kentucky. In Ste. Genevieve, however, Audubon met and talked with a young Frenchman who had been with Lewis and Clark on their famed expedition, and he, perhaps, began at that time to plan his own trip up the Missouri.

In the early spring of 1812, Audubon returned to Ste. Genevieve to get money that Rozier owed him. He had gone with a party of Shawnee Indians, but the journey back was made alone and on foot. The next day on the return trip he walked forty-five miles and swam the Muddy River. He found a cabin after nightfall where he was welcomed hospitably. The next night he met a party of Osage Indians and encamped with them, eating boiled bear's fat and pecan nuts. When he reached the inn at Shawneetown, he was welcomed by several whom he knew who had come there to purchase salt. Taking the ferry boat early the next morning from Illinois to Kentucky, he reached his home in Henderson as night fell.

In 1823, Audubon again crossed southern Illinois, this time in the company of his son, Victor, and they crossed the Cache River where, as he says, he "had before spent a pleasant time."⁷ They pushed on to the little town of America,⁸ above the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, continued along the beach for some distance, and crossed into Kentucky.

Later, Audubon made many visits to Shawneetown, Illinois, but it was on his first trip to Illinois that he saw the famous eagle. He did not see another for three or four years.

EAST LANSING, MICH.

CLYDE E. HENSON.

⁶ Robert Ridgway, *The Ornithology of Illinois* (*Natural History Survey of Illinois*, Springfield, 1889), I: 485-86.

⁷ Maria R. Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals* (New York, 1897), I: 44-45; II: 274-75.

⁸ The little town of America is no longer in existence but for a time it was the county seat of Alexander County.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

HINTS ON EQUESTRIANISM FOR THE FAIR SEX

The following important portions of the equestrian art, a good horsewoman should make herself perfect mistress of, ere she attempt the true pleasures of equestrianism by those delightful canters which, when once enjoyed, too often make the young rider consider as *minor points*—those, without a perfect knowledge of which, no lady is safe in her saddle, even though the other portions of her riding may be excellent. I allude to the STOPPING, TURNING, and BACKING a horse. Frequent ac-



From Godey's Lady's Book (January, 1849),

LADIES ON HORSEBACK

dents have arisen from the want of quickness in doing these; therefore, I wish to impress upon the fair equestrian the necessity of studying them well in the commencement, so that she may not be flurried when suddenly called upon to pull up her horse, or turn him to the right or left; but, from early and constant practice, do so with such perfect ease as will not only render the movement graceful but insure the animal's obedience.

TO STOP A HORSE.—Always supposing that the reins are not too long, in which case they should be drawn to a proper length through the left hand by the right; the bridle hand must be slightly raised, and drawn towards the centre of the waist, and, at the same time, the shoulders thrown back, which simultaneous movement is sure to stop the horse.

TO TURN TO THE RIGHT.—The bridle hand is advanced towards the horse so as to slacken the reins on the near side of his neck, whilst the right hand draws the right rein tight, which turns the head round, and consequently makes the horse turn the body; the moment he has turned sufficiently, the right hand must be taken off the rein and the left resumes its place. Particular attention must be paid *at all times* that the reins at each side are of equal length.

TO TURN TO THE LEFT.—The right hand, which is generally on the rein, is taken off, and the left hand, which will be seen by our illustration, turns the horse by the pressure of the rein on the off side of his neck. Care must be taken not to fall into a too general habit of crossing the right hand over to tighten the rein: it looks very unlike a rider, besides depriving her of the power of using the whip, should the horse stop or turn at once.

Godey's Lady's Book (Jan., 1849), 52.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS AND NICHOLAS I OF RUSSIA

Douglas on one occasion, in a social chat between him and myself, gave me a detailed account of his trip to Europe, and of his permission to see Queen Victoria if he would do so in court dress, which he declined, saying that he would wear just such clothes as he usually wore when visiting the President of the United States. But when he got to Russia, the great Nicholas, who was then on the throne, granted him the privilege to see him in the same dress he usually wore at the White House. He did not send Douglas and our country the honor to send his own carriage for him, and had him brought out to one of the Russian steppes, where Nicholas was reviewing a million of his troops. Said he, "Linder, it was the most imposing sight I ever saw. They were drawn up in the form of a V, stretching away back beyond the reach of my vision. At the apex of this V was

a brilliant cortege, the principal figure Nicholas himself; the rest were composed of his household and domestic ministers and ambassadors, from all the known world. I was taken," said he, "not to this cortege, but about a half a mile from there, where the carriage stopped, and I was helped out by what I supposed to be one of the emperor's most distinguished officers, for he was covered all over by crosses and badges of honor, and there were others there similarly decorated. He pointed to a horse, a beautiful steed, the most elegantly caparisoned I ever saw; the brow-band of the bridle was actually studded with diamonds; other portions of the horse's covering were literally glittering with gold and silver. I knew the horse was intended for me. I went up and examined the stirrup straps, and found them about a foot too long. I turned around, and asked in English (being the only language I could speak), if any gentleman would shorten the stirrups for me, but to my utter dismay not a word could any of them speak, or understand what I said to them; but I made them understand by signs, and by fitting the stirrup leathers to my arm what I wanted, and they were quickly shortened to fit my short legs, and I mounted. I did not know exactly what I was to do, but the horse informed me, for he turned his head towards the brilliant cortege, of which I have spoken, and broke for it like the wind. He had hardly started, however, when another horse, with a giant-like form upon him, caparisoned exactly like the one I was on, left the very head of the cortege and came, with the speed of a Mazeppa, right towards me. Thinks I, you are going to come together like a couple of locomotives, but I'll take the chances and let you drive. On they both went, as though they were going to run through each other, until they came up, nose to nose, and reared up on their hind feet, and then brought their fore feet right down to the ground together and stood as still as death, when the tall, fine-looking man on the other horse, addressed me in good English, in about the words:

" 'I have the pleasure, I presume, of receiving and welcoming Russia, Senator Douglas, of Illinois?' "

"I bowed my assent, and replied: 'I presume I have the honor of being received and welcomed by His Majesty, Nicholas, Emperor of the Russias.'

"From thence we rode along together, engaged in familiar chat. He asked me a good many questions in regard to the way which I had come, and if I had come by the way of Constantinople. I told him I had. He asked me if I saw any signs or preparations of war there. I answered he had not. He then asked me what the prevailing opinion was there as to whether there would be any war. I said, 'The opinion seems to be that

depends entirely upon your Majesty whether there will be peace or war.'

"We arrived at the cortege, and he gave me the place of honor, near his own person. Linder," said Douglas, "that was a proud day for my country. I never was vain enough to appropriate it to myself. When the little man in black was given the place of honor, it was a stroke of policy on the part of Nicholas; it amounted to saying to the hundred ambassadors from all the nations of the world: 'Gentlemen, I intend to make the great people of the great republic on the other side of the Atlantic my friends, and if any of your nations go to war with me, rest assured that that people will stand by me.' I received every attention that it was possible for mortal man to receive, all of which I knew was intended for my country."

USHER F. LINDER, *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 78-82.

SCARCITIES IN THE 1840's

GIRLS WANTED. The whole population of Cook county, Illinois, which is the village of Chicago, is 11,045. Of these, the number of males between 20 and 30 years of age, is 2,479; of females of the same age 220—less than one half. Of those between 30 and 40 years of age, the males are 1,162, the females 590, a disproportion as bad. Under this state of things, the Chicago American requests to have sent on a cargo of first rate marriageable women.

Niles' National Register, Feb. 27, 1841, p. 416.

HOG KILLING, PIONEER STYLE

There is, perhaps, no animal which the western farmer possesses, cared for with so little trouble and expense, and which, at the same time, adds so largely to his comforts, as the hog. At all times, except during the short winter, when the earth is bound up by frost, he roams at large, some seasons rooting in the woods and prairies, at others luxuriating amidst a great abundance of mast, consisting of acorns, hickory nuts, walnuts, hazel nuts, &c.; and the pork fed in this way, though soft and fat to run much to grease in the cooking, is the sweetest I ever tasted.

A hog killing is one of the great affairs, and such individuals as are counted dexterous at the operation are in request at killing time. The hogs being very wild and savage, any uproar or squealing makes them so outrageous, that they become quite unmanageable. A rifle is mostly used

to bring them down, the marksman doing his best to kill them dead o the spot, by shooting them through the head. After every precaution t prevent such an occurrence has been used, they sometimes break throug the fence, and run off to the woods, squandering in all directions. Whe this takes place, the owner and his assistants hunt them like deer, an shoot them wherever they can find them, without being very nice i taking aim at any particular part of the body.

I happened to be invited to a hog-killing, and on arriving, with tw others, at the place, found that the condemned grunTERS had broken loos from their pen, though luckily they had got into a large field of fifty o sixty acres, surrounded by a good rail fence. This was the first time the had broken fence, and the man accounted for their doing so by saying "they had a mighty great notion of what was going to take place, as h had been oftener to them that morning than he used to, and had mad them mad by laying some more rails on the fence of the pen." The affai was not quite so bad as if they had taken to the woods, still, no energeti measures could be used, as even a good rail fence is a trifle, opposed to a enraged hog. Most unluckily, there was only one gun, and that an ol smooth bore, which might have done well enough at the pen, but whic made very random work at a long distance. However it would not d to stand and talk, as the thermometer was down very near zero, and northwester beginning to sweep the prairie, so to work one of the part set with the old gun, whilst the rest, by walking on the opposite side o the field, kept the hogs as near him as possible. After crouching abou for some time, the marksman fired and brought down one, which wa immediately bled by a man who followed closely for that purpose. A considerable time elapsed before a shot was got at another, standing, a it did, at some distance. The shot took effect in the animal's body, an over he tumbled, but quickly regaining his feet, set off floundering an squealing. The old fellow threw down his gun, and scrambled over th fence, and, accompanied by his henchman with the knife and a stout dog pursued across the field full split. The field was ploughed, hard frozen and covered with loose snow, a conjunction of circumstances most unfavourable to speedy progress; and the poor hog and his pursuers wer seldom all afoot at the same time, and when the dog got up, and a serie of short cuts and turns took place, the affair became almost a scramble o all fours. There was much need for despatch, however, for the cries o their wounded companion having aroused the rest of the herd, they cam up with erect bristles and open mouth to the rescue. The hog was seize and stabbed, just in the nick of time, and the men, with some difficulty made good their retreat; not so the dog, which, being fierce and unwillin

to quit his victim, had the back part of his head laid open for his temerity. After considerable delay and a series of operations somewhat similar to those described, the whole were slaughtered and hauled up on a sled to the house, where preparations had been made for scalding them. This process took place out of doors. A couple of logs of about eighteen inches diameter were rolled nigh together, a proper supply of lighted fuel was put between them, and over it were placed all the pots and kettles that could be mustered about the place. The water, when boiling, was poured into a barrel with one of its ends out, which was placed in an inclined position, and into which the hogs were soused over head and ears.

The northwester had become a stiffish breeze, and the day was dreadfully cold—so cold, indeed, that the tops of the bristles became frozen together in a few seconds after the hogs were withdrawn from the hot water, and the carcasses were as hard as wood in not very many hours.

The breed of hogs in this part of the country is very bad; they are long-nosed, thin creatures, with legs like greyhounds; and, like the greyhound among dogs, seem to be the kind formed for speed and agility among swine, as they think nothing of galloping a mile at a heat, or of clearing fences which a more civilized hog would never attempt. Still, as the hog of a pioneer settler has, at some seasons, need for all the activity he can exert to procure a subsistence, he may after all be the best fitted for the backwoods.

WILLIAM OLIVER, *Eight Months In Illinois* (1843), 34-36.

A PORTRAIT OF HENRY CLAY

During the last hours of the Thirty-first Congress, in March, 1851, the ultra-Southern senators were talking against time to defeat the House over-and-harbor bill. Early in the morning, Mr. Clay made an appeal to his friends to refrain from all debate and to dispense with all other business until it was disposed of. I watched it all day and until the close of the session at 12 o'clock at night, never missing Mr. Clay from the Senate. During the last hour, our friends were asked to give way to permit the gighthouse bill to pass. Then, for the last time, did I hear in the Senate the voice of Henry Clay, and it was probably the last time he ever did speak there with the earnestness of his best days. He said: "One single observation, Mr. President: I hope this Country will take notice with what facility, with what unanimity, the power to regulate commerce on the seaboard is exercised, and what opposition is made to the exercise of the same power in the valley of the Mississippi."

He immediately took his hat, stepped to an extreme back seat, and placed it upon his head. Thinking it a case of inadvertence, I spoke to him upon the subject, and, loud enough for most to hear, he spoke: "I know where my hat is, and it is time that all the friends of Western commerce put their hats upon their heads, and prepared themselves to go before the people to expose the course pursued by a factious minority of the Senate." After we all had reached the hotel, he had a short levee in the parlor, when he declared he was longing to have some of the factionists allude to his hat, when he would have fired a bombshell into their ranks, which would have satisfied them that they were not the men to talk to him of legislative manners or decorum.

He went with us to New York, to return home by Havana and New Orleans. As the vessel was about to sail, members of Congress and their families, then in New York, called to bid him "farewell." As he had never been to Chicago, we suggested that, in some of his journeys to Washington, he make a tour of the Lakes. Recurring to the last scenes in the Senate, he said: "I never go where the constitution does not go. I must travel by salt water until we can make our Western harbors and river constitutional, and obtain for them the deserved appropriations."

JOHN WENTWORTH, *Congressional Reminiscences* (Chicago, 1882), 31-32

CONFUSED REBELS.

In the fall of 1861, while the Thirteenth was lying in temporary camp, near Rolla, Missouri, having crossed the Gasconade river, comrades James Keat, Valentine Cortz, Ed. Barnard, Patsey Ward, and myself went out foraging and to see what we could learn of the enemy. We went several miles from camp, when night came on and we lost our way. Searching for shelter for the night we found a deserted log cabin, which we gladly occupied. I [t] had an earth floor, and old fashioned fire-place with puncheons loosely laid over head, with a square hole in one corner and a ladder leading to the attic. There was also a hole about three by six feet in the puncheons directly in front and over the fire places, the puncheon projecting beyond the joists quite a distance.

We made a temporary fire boiled our coffee, and ate our scanty supply of hard tack, and with still unsatisfied stomachs we turned in, for the night, having first placed a guard outside to warn us of approaching danger. After having been asleep some time we were suddenly aroused by our guard, and notified of the approach of horsemen, and we all too to the attic, with our arms and accoutrements, pulling the ladder up after us, thinking it best to use caution until we had ascertained whether the

coming party were friends or enemies. Riding up to the door, they entered, and, from their conversation, we learned that they were bushwhackers and hunting for "Yanks" and consequently no friends of "we 'uns," and as there were some eight or ten of them we kept as still as our beating hearts and rapid breathing would allow; our respirations seeming to our excited imaginations like the laboring of an engine, while the seconds were minutes and the minutes hours as we were held captives by the unwitting enemy below.

After they had placed two of their number as guards and to hold their horses at the door, they began preparing rations, and soon the broiling ham and the baking corn ponies were calling loudly to our yearning appetites. We were lying side by side on the broad puncheons, flat on our stomachs, scarcely breathing for fear the enemy would hear us. Patsey Ward commonly called "Sandy," a well-known character in the regiment and noted for his Irish wit and ready resources, was lying beside me. Suddenly he whispered to me, "Ralph, be Jasus, I shmell pertaties." I said, "Hush! keep quiet or we will be murdered, every last one us." The enticing odor of the baking potatoes, however, was too much for Sandy, and so creeping forward on the puncheon toward the opening in front of the fire-place he craned his neck and peered over to see what was going on below. I tried to keep the rascal back, but he persisted in looking over, until without warning the puncheon tipped and Sandy with his bristling red hair and yelling at the top of his voice was precipitated among the astonished intruders beneath. While Sandy had not the remotest intention of joining the party below in this unceremonious manner, yet his mother wit came to him in time to turn what might have been defeat into victory, and he cried at the top of his voice, "Come on yes, bedad! we've got 'em," and at the same time each one of us yelling loud enough for fifty men, hastened to Sandy's assistance. The demoralized bushwhackers evidently thought the attic was alive with "Yanks," and crowding for the door they mounted their horses and struck out for all timber, leaving behind some of their arms, hams, corn ponies, together with the aforesaid "pertaties" which had been so enticing to Pat's factories, and the unconscious cause of this exciting episode. The inventory of the "traps" left in our possession included three squirrel rifles, two flint lock horse pistols, two "Arkansaw tooth picks," one butcher knife, one ham and a half, half a side of bacon, together with the corn ponies and potatoes. You may rest assured there was no more sleep that night, but we all stood guard, and while regaling ourselves over the savory viands left by the enemy, we had the satisfaction of knowing that our terror at the arrival of the bushwhackers was fully equalled by their

own at the sudden advent of the red headed angel from above.

At the approach of daylight we wended our way to camp, which was much farther than we had imagined, and were welcomed by our comrades, having learned the valuable lesson that ready wit and a bold front will often win the day, although the odds may be against us.

*Military History and Reminiscences of the
Thirteenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteer In-
fantry in the Civil War in The United States,
1861-1865 (Chicago, 1892), 669-71.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Harps in the Wind: The Story of the Singing Hutchinsons. By Carol Brink.
(The Macmillan Company; New York, 1947. Pp. 312. \$3.50.)

Here is the story of the musical Hutchinsons, who sang for their upper, for temperance, peace, women's rights, abolition, and often just for fun. Inheriting a passion for music, the eleven sons and two daughters of Jesse and Mary Hutchinson all loved to sing, but it was the three younger brothers, Judson, John, and Asa, and their little sister Abby who attained the greatest fame. Trouping out from their New Hampshire home, they traveled the country over, not only for fame and fortune, but in aid of every worthy movement. Their natures were like harps in the wind that "vibrated to every popular cause." From time to time other members of the family joined them or set out on their own.

They became the best-known troubadours of their time, and they perpetuated their name by founding the town of Hutchinson, Minnesota. By reason of their travels and the multiplicity of their interests, their story is the saga of their century, and many of its leading figures pass with them across the stage—Daniel Webster, Frederick Douglass, Charles Dickens, Lucretia Mott, Wendell Phillips, James Russell Lowell. And the Hutchinsons are interesting in themselves—the quiet, moody Judson, the serious, stubborn John, the persevering, idealistic Asa, and the captivating Abby, whom all the brothers loved.

The Hutchinsons not only sang, they also composed and arranged. Some of their contributions have attained a lasting place in our folk music. They also kept scrapbooks of clippings about themselves and some of them wrote diaries. Thus there is a mass of material upon which an author may draw. Indeed, this is the second book about them to appear in the last few months.

It required no little artistry to maintain unity in a book which treats so many individuals, but the author has succeeded by integrating the family with the times. The book was lying on my desk one day when my little daughter picked it up and said: "Carol Brink—I have one of her books." Then I understood the reason for the graceful simplicity of the author's style. I had forgotten that she also writes children's books.

Springfield, Illinois.

BENJAMIN P. THOMAS.

Invitation to Book Collecting: Its Pleasures and Practices. With Kindred Discussions of Manuscripts, Maps, and Prints. By Colton Storm and Howard Peckham. (R. R. Bowker Company: New York, 1947. Pp. 281. \$5.00.)

This book has interest and information for the general reader and much instruction for the novice in book collecting. It grew out of lectures given at the University of Michigan, explaining to students the well-known William L. Clements collection of Americana. (The book contains, however, only a few pages on that library.) For a comparatively small volume it covers much ground, and explains principles and practices in collecting by generous use of illustration.

The authors accept the definition of rare books as those "important, desirable, and hard to get," and give concise explanations of each of these criteria. Their study includes: a brief history of some famous collections from the library of the Ptolemies at Alexandria to the twentieth-century William L. Clements Library; an intimation of the pleasures of book collecting; an analysis of the motives and technique of collecting; manuscripts, maps and prints as collectors' items; and buying and selling rare books. There is advice on the repair and protection of books, on binding and printing, and a discussion of the pitfalls a novice should avoid in the pursuit of this great game. Special chapters describe experiences collecting literature and Americana, and bibliographical aids in collecting. The book is attractively printed and contains a few plates illustrating collectors' gems.

Springfield, Illinois.

MARY WATTERS.

The Presidents and the Press. By James E. Pollard. (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1947. Pp. 866. \$4.00.)

In these days the presidential press conference has almost come to be accepted as one of the duties of the Chief Executive. And woe to the man who snubs the press or refuses to submit himself at regular intervals to the oftentimes embarrassing scrutiny of a roomful of sharp-eyed and sharp-witted reporters! But such was not always the case. Dr. Pollard's timely work traces the evolution of the relationship between President and press into the unique, but extremely vital institution it is today.

George Washington saw, but did not approve, the rise of fanatical partisan newspapers as well as "Administration organs." Jackson "made and unmade administration editors and newspapers to suit his needs and convictions." Then came the era of personal journalism, featuring such editorial giants as Horace Greeley, James Gordon Bennett, William Cullen Bryant, Raymond, Godkin, Dana, and others, who became in their

elves powers in the land, the "makers" and confidants of Presidents, men who not only offered suggestions as to national policy, but expected those suggestions to be followed. In 1900 Theodore Roosevelt began the press conference tradition which was carried to its climax by another Roosevelt several years later.

Of particular interest to Illinois readers will, of course, be the story of Lincoln's dealings with the press. Pollard states that "Lincoln showed more skill and acumen than any previous President and . . . more than all but one or two since." Lincoln, says Pollard, always "appreciated the sensitiveness and importance of public opinion." Though he was not a publicity seeker, he knew the importance of "getting his name before the others and keeping it there."

From his New Salem days, Lincoln was not only an inveterate reader of newspapers, but also a frequent contributor. His early writings appeared as letters, editorials, news letters and news reports, usually unsigned, in the columns of the *Sangamo Journal*, a Whig newspaper at Springfield. During his campaign for Congress, Lincoln wrote to various Illinois editors, requesting their support, asking them to "let nothing appear in your paper which may operate against me." As President he sought and followed the advice of newspaper editors, made a continual effort to keep them on friendly terms, and gave many of them important posts in the government. Though he held no regular press conferences, he did occasionally converse with reporters, and these conversations were published in a form similar to the modern interview. His relationships with the press were not always pleasant, however, and newspapers were frequently bitterly critical of his administration.

The story of President Grant's relationship with the press is almost wholly unfortunate. Uncommunicative and almost completely inexperienced in matters of public relations, he not only suffered from a bad press during most of his administration, but, in Pollard's opinion, contributed nothing to the development of the later effective relationship between the Presidents and the fourth estate.

Springfield, Illinois.

EDWARD WEIR.

Speak for Thaddeus Stevens. By Elsie Singmaster. (Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston, 1947. Pp. 446. \$3.50.)

As the title indicates, this is an attempt to portray sympathetically through the medium of fictionalized biography the life of a man characterized by Lincoln-scholar J. G. Randall as "the perfect type of vindictive ugliness."¹

¹ James G. Randall, *Lincoln the President* . . . (New York, 1945), II: 207.

From the pages of history, Thaddeus Stevens scowls down upon us as the brilliant, but embittered zealot. His shrill insistence on vengeance against the defeated South had much to do with the creation of what is still known as the "problem of the South."

From Singmaster's pages emerges a different picture. Here is the uncompromising idealist. Here is a man whose "heart had always been mellow—to his kin, to the young, to the ambitious and hopeless, to the poor white, to the negro. . . . [but] never mellow to those who wrong others." We see very little of the Stevens who fought with all the brute power of sarcasm, invective, ridicule and political skill at his command against the humane and tolerant program of Southern reconstruction envisaged by Lincoln.

It is true that Stevens voted and campaigned for Lincoln and supported him in his requests for the means and power to wage a war, author Singmaster says. It is also true that Stevens as the leader of the Republican "radicals" was the pivotal character around whom revolved the effort to destroy Lincoln's ideal of "malice toward none"—which author Singmaster makes not quite so clear. It is true that Stevens arose to prominence out of the direst conditions of poverty and that he was afflicted from birth with the handicap of a crippled leg. It is true that in his earlier years he befriended and helped the helpless and braved public opinion to espouse highly unpopular causes such as free education, abolition, and the defense of murder on the unheard-of grounds of insanity. But it is also unfortunately true that, like so many idealists, he became blinded by abstractions that he lost sight of the practical problems involved in human relationships. His "mellow-heartedness," his sympathy for the helpless did not apply to the helpless and defeated people of the South. To him the magnanimity of Lincoln was "infamous."

We need to understand the psychological factors which motivated the personalities of history. We need the capacity to excuse and forgive mistakes. But we cannot afford to *justify* the mistakes of the men who make history, nor forget them, nor gloss over them. There are too many people, too much human happiness and misery involved. Stevens' importance does not lie in the fact that he had high ideals, was poor, crippled, the innocent victim of malicious gossip regarding his negro housekeeper, that he gambled and did not drink, that he was the defender of the penniless poor and the owner of an iron works, that his mother was undoubtedly a woman of high character and intelligence, or that he was brilliant. His importance lies in the fact that he made mistakes. He helped bring on one of the bloodiest wars in human history, and when it was won, he did not know how to settle it. A study of those mistakes

and why and how they were made should be of some importance to Americans in this Year III of the Atom Bomb.

Elsie Singmaster, who has done some other writing, is a native of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where the subject of her latest work entered politics and to which place he did not return on the memorable occasion of a certain address by one A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois.

EDWARD WEIR.

Abraham Lincoln and the Widow Bixby." By Sherman D. Wakefield. (Privately Printed: 144 East 24th St., New York. Pp. 23. \$.25.)

In the March issue of this *Journal* we reviewed F. Lauriston Bullard's *Abraham Lincoln and the Widow Bixby*. In this book Dr. Bullard analyzed the conclusions of students who questioned Lincoln's authorship of the Bixby letter, among them Sherman D. Wakefield. Comes now Mr. Wakefield with a reply to his critic.

It is dangerous to brief satisfactorily a scholar's argument. Interested readers should purchase the original of this reply. In short Mr. Wakefield calls attention to a few errors in dates made by Dr. Bullard and then outlines the reason for his belief that John Hay wrote the Bixby letter. He cites the fact that no copy of the letter is known, that certain evidence indicates that Lincoln wrote few letters himself—probably half a dozen a week. John Hay, the author shows, could imitate Lincoln's handwriting, but Mr. Wakefield believes this irrelevant to the debate. In the letter the writer refers to "Our Heavenly Father" and Mr. Wakefield maintains that Lincoln did not believe in a personal God. Also Mr. Wakefield maintains that the letter, if Lincoln's, belongs among the Lincoln state papers as Mrs. Bixby was a stranger to him and the letter is therefore not a personal one. In addition, Mr. Wakefield gives some evidence that indicates that John Hay wrote the letter. His evidence is second and third hand gossip that would not be accepted in a court of law. Mr. Wakefield admits this and points out also that Bullard's evidence that Lincoln did write the letter is also second and third hand and inadmissible in court. The argument, then, boils down to this: There is no firsthand and absolute proof for either side. There is no more absolute proof of that Lincoln wrote the letter than that John Hay did. However, the letter did appear in print under Lincoln's name while he was still alive, and John Hay, himself, included the letter in his compilation of Lincoln's works. Scholars know that many of the letters and speeches of our executives are the work of several helping hands. Lacking direct evidence, each reader must judge for himself the authorship of the Bixby letter.

J. M.

The Love Affairs of Abraham Lincoln. By R. D. Packard. (Carpenter Printing Company: Cleveland, Ohio, 1947. Pp. 14.)

Lincoln's religion and his love affairs were the two topics that caused most heated jousts between reviewers and pamphleteers a generation ago. Arguments on Lincoln's religious beliefs have subsided since a discovery was made in 1942 by Dr. Harry Pratt of a long statement Lincoln himself explaining his religious principles in detail. No similar statement by Lincoln concerning his love affairs has ever come to light nor is it likely to. Historians are compelled to rely on conflicting records. R. D. Packard recounts the early affairs described by William E. Barton in *The Women Lincoln Loved* and the Mary Owens courtship written recently by Olive Carruthers and R. Gerald McMurtry. Mr. Packard gives the Ann Rutledge romance little credence and he believes that "the forceful Miss Todd" did much to make Lincoln president. He analyzes Herndon's statements about Lincoln's love affairs and dismisses as fiction the recent sensational stories about the unknown Mary Curtis of Louisville to whom Lincoln allegedly gave a watch shortly after breaking his engagement with Mary Todd on the fatal first of January, 1841.

J. M.

Lincoln and National Security. By Earle D. Ross. (Pp. [80]-85.)

This reprint from *Social Science* of January, 1947, does not qualify as Lincolniana according to the arbitrary rules adopted by the Illinois State Historical Library but many Lincoln scholars will want it for their shelves. The paper was originally delivered as an address at Carleton College on February 13, 1944. Professor Ross undertakes to appraise the unique qualities of Abraham Lincoln. He admits at the start that his task is difficult. He finds Lincoln "just another prairie boy making good with no display of greatness until his inauguration as President. In this exalted station Lincoln's character was subjected to its first real test. The Civil War was also democracy's greatest test. Lincoln, according to the author, succeeded in preserving the Union by courageous adherence to his belief in majority rule and his refusal to be unduly influenced by minorities.

J. M.

Heritage From My Father. An Autobiography. By Ira Nelson Morris. (Privately Printed: New York, 1947. Pp. 263.)

This handsome book of her husband's memoirs has been published by Constance Lily Morris. A native Chicagoan, and son of Nelson Morris, founder of the meat packing firm of Morris and Company, Ira Nelson

morris as a youth was so strongly dominated by his father that he was very unhappy. His father had planned a business career for him; the son longed for the gentler, more satisfying things of life that he found in literature and art. Later, he had a distinguished career apart from the meat packing business. As minister to Sweden from 1914 to 1923, he saw much of international affairs during a critical period of history. More than half of the book deals with those nine years. He died in 1942.

The book is written with charm and will be enjoyed by a wide variety of readers. A distinguished son of Chicago—a sensitive and understanding personality—the author was also a diplomat in the finest use of the word.

There is much in the book about Ira Nelson Morris's father, to whom he was greatly indebted for wealth and position and the opportunity to gratify his exquisite tastes. In a sense, the book is a memorial to his father—an appreciative evaluation of a man with whom he was so often in sympathetic understanding.

S. A. W.

George Ade, Warmhearted Satirist. By Fred C. Kelly. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company: Indianapolis, 1947. Pp. 282. \$3.50.)

Illinois can almost claim this Hoosier writer, George Ade, as her son. Had his parents moved just four miles farther west, he would have been born in Illinois. But more justly might she claim him because it was Illinois that he became famous. Chicago was his laboratory. In 1890, at the age of twenty-four, he went to the Windy City. His friend John T. McCutcheon had been urging him to come for some time and try for a job on a newspaper. McCutcheon and Ade roomed together for several years, and George went to work for the *Morning News*, later the *Record*.

His first assignment was to write a daily piece about the weather. He was a natural-born reporter and after successfully getting an interview with Robert Ingersoll, and reporting the Sullivan-Corbett fight, his fame spread. Along with his articles on the World's Columbian Exposition, he wrote occasional human interest stories in addition to his regular assignments. Then, beginning on November 20, 1893, he and McCutcheon started a column, "Stories of the Streets and of the Town." His fame grew. In 1899 came the first publication of his *Fables in Slang*, though the first tale had appeared in 1897 in the newspaper.

He did not intend to keep on writing in slang, but the popularity of the form forced him to continue. As he used to tell reporters, in mock indignation, when they expected him to talk in slang, "I have never used slang except when compelled to, to make a living." In addition to many

books of stories and sketches, he became famous as a playwright. *The Sultan of Sulu*, *Peggy from Paris*, *The County Chairman*, *The Sho-Gun*, *The College Widow*, and many more, gave him fame and fortune. He had arrived

George Ade maintained a home in the Middle West. His country place at Brook, Indiana, was named Hazelden Farm. People, however, were always his chief interest, and he did not stay for long intervals in the country. As he said:

You may acquire peace of mind by listening to the breeze in the trees, but you will not get any man-size experience out of botany. If you wish to keep tab on the human race you must go, once in awhile, to where the interesting specimens are assembled.

Kelly's biography is a joy to read—much of it in the language of Ade himself. All who like the fresh, breezy style of this truly great American humorist will be delighted.

S. A. W.

U. S. Grant, Young Horseman. By Augusta Stevenson. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company: Indianapolis, 1947. Pp. 187. \$1.75.)

Children of all ages will like this book about a boy who loved horses. It deals with the childhood of U. S. Grant until he went away to West Point. As "the child is father of the man," one sees in this imaginative story of a youth, shadows of the events to come. Still, who would ever have thought that "Lys" Grant, the tanner's boy, would some day be president?

A newcomer to *The Childhood of Famous Americans Series*, published by Bobbs-Merrill, *U. S. Grant, Young Horseman* will join a series already popular with youngsters. If the other biographies are all as readable as this, it is easy to understand why books in this series are requested frequently in libraries. This volume is very attractively illustrated in black and white by Paul Laune.

S. A. W.

Facts About Illinois. (Published by the Illinois Development Council, Springfield, Illinois, 1947. Pp. 67.)

This booklet condenses many interesting facts about our inland empire and its industrial, agricultural, and mineral wealth. Profusely and beautifully illustrated, *Facts About Illinois* attempts, briefly, to give an analysis of the state's social, economic, and political structure. There is also reference to Illinois' parks, highways, and historical shrines.

S. A. W.

House on Hill. By Abbie Findlay Potts. (Published by the Centennial Committee of Rockford College, 1947, Pp. 130.)

This remarkable poem, written for the hundredth year of Rockford College, tells the story of this school and its many illustrious faculty members and alumnae. On June 14, 1947, a pageant, "House on Hill," based upon this book was presented in the Rockford Armory as part of the centennial celebration.

One is particularly impressed with the school founders' nobility of purpose. This emphasis on rectitude is especially refreshing. Perhaps this is because, today, we seem to have lost our way on the road of ethical behavior. But *Deus illuminatio mea* is still the ideal of Rockford College, which ranks especially high in social science courses. Holding the ideal that it is the scholar's duty to attack and overcome ignorance, cruelty, and greed, the school remains one of the outstanding colleges for women in the Middle West. Julia Lathrop and Jane Addams are among its graduates.

Fortunate, also, is the college that can have such a fine piece of printing to commemorate its centennial. And the book, itself, is a beautiful example of the printer's art. It is printed on fine, rag paper by the Thoensen Press at Portland, Maine. Graduates of Rockford will cherish this little volume by a distinguished member of the school's faculty.

S. A. W.

Cities of America. By George Sessions Perry. (Whittlesey House: New York, 1947. Pp. 287. \$3.50.)

These articles on twenty-two cities of America have been previously published in *The Saturday Evening Post*. The sketches are interesting; the illustrations are excellent; the book is attractive in format and has a bibliography and index.

The delineation of Chicago, the only Illinois city included, shows that the author has made a profound study of this most dynamic of American cities and has sincerely tried to give a fair appraisal of the often misnamed metropolis.

Of course not every city in America could be included in a book of convenient size, but from the title, this reviewer expected to find many that were omitted. Taking only the Midwest as an example, one finds sketches of St. Paul, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Omaha, or Indianapolis. However, under different authorship, this series of articles is still appearing in *The Saturday Evening Post*.

S. A. W.

NEWS AND COMMENT

THE ANNUAL MEETING

An excellent program is being planned for the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society to be held in Rockford on October 31 and November 1. Outstanding speakers are being engaged. Dr. Ernest G. Hildner, Jr., dean of Illinois College at Jacksonville, is program chairman. Other members of the committee are Herman Nelson, of Rockford, and Wayne Townley of Bloomington.

Rockford College and Dr. Mary Ashby Cheek, president, will entertain Society members and their guests at a tea on Friday afternoon, October 31. The dinner meeting will follow. As soon as the complete program is arranged, all members will be mailed announcements.

Local sponsoring agencies are the Winnebago County Historical Society, the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford, and the Rockford Chamber of Commerce.

OPENING OF THE LINCOLN PAPERS

For twenty-one years students of Lincoln's life have waited for the opening of the Lincoln papers in the Library of Congress. A story well known, and believed by many, that these papers were the contents of an old trunk which Robert Todd Lincoln was burning until stopped by Nicholas Murray Butler in October, 1923. Butler, according to this story, convinced Robert T. Lincoln that the papers belonged to the nation and should be given to the people.

Rumor said that the papers contained mysterious material that might alter the accepted story of Lincoln and the Civil War; that Robert T. Lincoln kept them from public investigation until twenty-one years after his death in order that no living person might be hurt by disclosure in the correspondence.

We know now that the mysterious papers were Lincoln's personal letter file including the unfinished business he took from his Springfield office to Washington. There are 18,350 items in the collection and they are mounted for students in 194 large volumes. A microfilm of this collection is approximately two miles long. The great majority of the letters



LINCOLN STUDENTS AND WRITERS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS DURING THE OPENING OF THE LINCOLN PAPERS.

Front row, right to left: Robert Todd Lincoln Beckwith, great grandson of Abraham Lincoln; Major General U. S. Grant III, grandson of the Civil War General; Paul M. Angle, director of Chicago Historical Society; F. Lauriston Bullard, well-known writer; Luther Evans, librarian, Library of Congress; Robert L. Kincaid, president Lincoln Memorial University; R. Gerald McMurtry, Director of Department of Lincolniana, Lincoln Memorial University; Jay Monaghan, editor of this *Journal*; Ralph Newman, proprietor of Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, Chicago; Madame Xavier Tellard, daughter of Lincoln's law partner, Ward Hill Lamont. *Second row, left to right:* Harry J. Lytle, collector of Lincolniana at Davenport. Partly hidden behind Professor McMurtry: Rufus Rockwell Wilson, writer and publisher; John E. Washington, Lincoln scholar and author; Louis A. Warren, director Lincoln National Life Foundation, Fort Wayne, Indiana. *Directly behind Dr. Evans:* William H. Townsend, Lincoln author; *behind Dr. Bullard:* Alfred W. Stern, famous connoisseur of Lincolniana; Tom Starr, writer and editor; Carl Sandburg, poet; James G. Randall, professor of history at the University of Illinois and Lincoln biographer.



re written to Lincoln. About a thousand are written by him. Approximately a half of the incoming mail consisted of applications for jobs. Many of the remaining letters are inconsequential—letters telling Lincoln how to run the government, letters threatening his life, praising him, giving gratuitous advice. Still other letters promise to be very important. They are from leaders in all walks of life, also giving advice. A study of them may show the source of some of Lincoln's policies, the pressure put on him to make certain decisions. In short, they may give a new insight into Lincoln's character. Such communications may be extremely revealing but a year or two will be necessary to evaluate them.

As early as 1865 the Library of Congress tried to get these papers from Lincoln's heirs. In 1919 the papers were sent to the library for storage and in January, 1923, Robert T. Lincoln deeded them to the library with the stipulation that they be impounded for twenty-one years after his death. According to the specifications of this deed, the papers might be opened on July 26, 1947. On the evening of July 25, Dr. Luther Evans, librarian, invited thirty-two guests—men who had devoted their lives to a study of Lincoln or who were intensely interested in his work—to join him at dinner. Among the guests was Carl Sandburg who remarked that this group of men, when he first knew them, were black headed—now they were white.

At ten minutes before midnight the diners adjourned and walked by the devious tunnels below the Library of Congress, to the manuscript division where the famous papers were interned. This walk through the catacombs was unusually impressive. All during the previous day the nation's newspapers had printed front page articles about the proposed opening. The national broadcasting hookups had cleared the air. One of the scholars who walked beside this writer said, "I have looked forward for many years to this hour. Sometimes I feared that I would not live to see it."

On the third floor of the Library of Congress Annex the press, the photographers and the broadcasters, several hundred in all, waited before two large iron safes. On the north wall the hands of a large clock reached toward the zenith. A dozen whirring movie cameras were pointed at the clock. The two hands came together—twelve o'clock. Librarian Luther Evans stepped out in front of the two safes and began to read the deed to the papers from Robert Todd Lincoln. The batteries of moving picture cameras turned and concentrated their fire on him. Next Percy Powell, who had had direct custody of the papers, stepped into the cameras' range. With dozens of unblinking lenses staring at him, camera mechanisms whirring and flash bulbs popping he crouched on the floor, negotiated

the safe combination and swung open the door. A few volumes of manuscripts were taken out and distributed among the waiting Lincoln students. More pictures were taken. These were the ones that appeared next day in newspapers throughout the United States. Then the large collection was moved to a room where the press was excluded and the thirty-two students worked until daylight with the manuscripts.

In the afternoon a broadcast was sent over the Columbia system by Carl Sandburg, Paul Angle, J. G. Randall, and Jay Monaghan. In the main lobby of the Library of Congress a large crowd had gathered. Senator C. Wayland Brooks introduced seventeen men well known in the Lincoln field. Then the assembly was addressed by Dr. Roy P. Basler, executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association (see front cover) who is now engaged in the preparation of a new edition of Lincoln's complete works. After the address the audience was admitted to an exhibition of some of the more striking manuscripts in the collection. The rest of the material was then opened to the public in the usual way.



Willard R. Matheny, a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, died in Chicago on May 29. For many years Mr. Matheny has been active in patriotic and veterans' organizations. He was president of the Illinois Reserve Officers Association and head of the Society of the War of 1812. He was also a member of the American Legion, Sons of the American Revolution, Society of Mayflower Descendants, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and several Masonic orders.

From 1913 to 1917, Mr. Matheny served as construction and operating engineer for the Chicago street light system. During World War I he was a captain in the Signal Corps. After the war, he was on the staff of the Chicago City Council Finance Committee as an expert on labor relations. In 1920 he was admitted to the bar. Since 1938 he managed the Harnly Weatherstrip Company. During World War II, he served as colonel in the Army.

A hard worker, with great enthusiasm, Colonel Matheny had many intimates in the Illinois State Historical Society. He was constantly urging his friends to join. In the recent campaign for membership in the Society he enlisted more new members than any one. The Society has lost a loyal friend by his passing.



The United States recently presented to the Illinois State Historical Library an oil portrait of the late Shelby Moore Cullom. The portrait was painted by August Benziger in 1913.

Joseph C. Mason started the movement to acquire the painting. He enlisted the support of Walter M. Provine and Henry A. Converse of Springfield. State Senator D. Logan Giffin presented a joint resolution requesting the transfer of the portrait which had hung in the committee room of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Capitol. This resolution was adopted by the Illinois General Assembly. Senator C. Wayland Brooks completed the negotiations in Washington.

Shelby M. Cullom was in public life for over fifty years. A member of the Illinois General Assembly and Congress, he was Governor of Illinois from 1876 to 1883, and a member of the United States Senate from 1883 until 1913. He died in 1914 in Washington at the age of eighty-five.



Four days of festivities starting on June 7 commemorated the foundation of the *Chicago Tribune* on June 10, 1847. Opening with an evening of entertainment given by radio station WGN, the centennial concluded with the issuance of a special Centennial Edition, a lake-front show, and a great display of fireworks. A vital, dynamic voice in the Middle West for over one hundred years, the *Tribune* has been consistently fearless and outspoken.



A benefit card party for the Aurora Historical Society was held on the afternoon of May 28 at the Aurora Woman's Club. There was a style show to conclude the party, displaying dresses of the past one hundred years, in many cases modeled by descendants of the original owners. Mrs. Ward Downs and the following committee were in charge of the afternoon: Miss Celia Holslag, Miss Esther Levedahl, Mrs. Bernard Stumm, Mrs. Arthur F. Muschler, Mrs. E. G. Crane, Mrs. G. A. Seargeant, Mrs. Harold Atwood, and Mrs. William Freeman.

Officers of the Society, chosen at the annual meeting in May, are: J. J. Meiers, president; Lorin Hill, first vice-president; Mrs. Arthur F. Muschler, second vice-president; Eleanor Plain, treasurer; Dorothy A. Simpson, membership secretary; Bess M. Lockhart, secretary. Directors elected are: Walter Hitzner, William Schmitt, Ray Stolp, Mrs. Harold Atwood, Mrs. Ward Downs, E. S. Fowler, Lee Fowler, Miss Esther Levedahl, T. J. Merrill, and John Plain.

Fifty paintings by John D. McKee of historic buildings in northern Illinois were exhibited, the latter part of August, in the offices of the Western United Gas and Electric Company through the cooperation of the Aurora Historical Society. Members of the board of the Society acted as guides, explaining the stories connected with the paintings.

At the May meeting of the Boone County Historical Society, Mrs. Alva McMaster gave a talk on the old Ames Tavern. In June, the Society held a picnic in Belvidere Park attended by sixty persons. Miss Margaret Philbrick, ninety-four, was honored for being the oldest person present. Helen Beth Barney, two and one-half years old, was honored for being the youngest person present still living on an original family homestead. Her family has lived on the Heywood farm for 110 years, and Helen represents the fifth generation. John Tripp read a history of the Society written by his mother. Others on the program were: Fred Marean, Ira J. Covey, and Mrs. Catherine Poole.



Mrs. H. P. Grove was recently re-elected president of the Bureau County Historical Society. Other officers are: Frank Grisell, vice-president; Edna B. Anderson, secretary and curator of the museum; Roger Eickmeier, treasurer; Mrs. Robert I. Zearing, corresponding secretary; T. A. Fenoglio, custodian of the museum collection; and Henry C. Keutzer, assistant custodian.



The Cahokia Historical Society held its annual pilgrimage to old Cahokia in June. After the dinner, officers were installed. They are: Mrs. W. H. Matlack, president; Mrs. Charles Gergen, first vice-president; Mrs. Homer Little, second vice-president; Mrs. Anita Hennessy, secretary; and Mrs. W. H. Campbell, auditor. Mrs. Matlack began her eighth term as head of the Society. Speakers at the meeting were Ernest Abt, W. A. Menard, and Edwin Barmann.

On July 14, the Society held its Fall-of-the-Bastille anniversary dinner in Baker's Restaurant, East St. Louis. A radio program portraying the fall of the Bastille and a travel picture showing the cliff dwellers homes in Mesa Verde, Colorado, provided the entertainment.



At the June meeting of the Carthage College Historical Society the following officers were elected: Professor W. C. Spielman, president; Dr. Juanita Jones, secretary; the Rev. Paul Hersch, treasurer; and Mrs. C. B. Newcomer, archivist. Resolutions were passed in memory of Dr. Robert Neumann, who was president of the Society at the time of his death last December.

A new exhibit at the Chicago Historical Society graphically tells the story of Illinois from the days of its early exploration. A huge map, running from floor to ceiling, dominates the exhibit room, where, chronologically arranged, are shown objects designed to prod the imagination and highlight the state's history. There are crucifixes unearthed at the sites of the early French missions, part of the hand press used by Owen and Elijah P. Lovejoy, an account book of the American Fur Company, old surgical instruments, crude pioneer toys, a boy's long barrel rifle, etc.



H. Evert Kincaid, executive director of the Chicago Plan Commission, was the speaker at the spring meeting of the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) on May 29. His talk on "Future Plans for Chicago" was illustrated with slides.

Officers of the Society are: George W. Abel, president; Nicholas J. Bohling, Jr., vice-president; Teresa O'Sullivan, recording secretary; Blanche McLaughlin, corresponding secretary; and Harry Kriewitz, treasurer.



Members of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) went on their annual spring tour early in June. This year they made a tour of Indian trails. Roberts Mann accompanied the party and described the former Indian trading posts of the area.



The Woodlawn Historical Society (Chicago) met on May 9 in the auditorium of the Woodlawn Regional Library. Students of Hyde Park, Mount Carmel, and University high schools, and the Loretto Academy of Woodlawn appeared on the program each recounting the history of his school and some of its outstanding achievements. Music was furnished by the Mother Singers of Wadsworth School under the direction of Helen Bailly Schiavo.



James F. Hardy read from a volume of the records of the Albion Division of the Sons of Temperance at the May meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society. These records began in 1861 and continued until the organization disbanded in 1884.

In June, Mrs. Walter Tribe spoke on the ways of life of the pioneers, and especially on the hardships endured by these early settlers. Mrs. K. C. Hogue, president, presided over a short business meeting.

Miss Alice Bradshaw gave an account of the *Albion Pioneer* at the July meeting. R. S. Thompson, then an amateur printer, was the publisher of this early journalistic venture of 1869 in Edwards County.



The old Greek-Revival market house in Galena, built in 1845, has been deeded to the state of Illinois. After a vain effort to raise funds for its preservation when the building was threatened with demolition, architects and historically-minded citizens protested so vigorously to the Galena City Council that the property was finally given to the state. This building is said to be the only one of its type in the Midwest capable of restoration.



At the annual meeting in June of the Geneva Historical Society the following officers were elected: Dr. Charles Lyttle, president; Mrs. Margaret Alexander Allan, first vice-president; Miss Mary Wheeler, second vice-president; Miss Jeanita Peterson, treasurer; Miss Alva Garfield secretary. Miss Edith Bailey and Edwin Soderstrom were elected directors for a three-year term. Robert G. Early was the principal speaker on the subject of "Lawyers of Early Days in Legal Activity." H. M. Coultrap chairman of the War Records Committee, stressed the importance of obtaining the service records of Geneva men and women who have served in all past wars.



The Glencoe Historical Society concluded its June meeting with an old-fashioned strawberry "sociable." A program including a pageant and talk by Miss Elizabeth Packer, former dean of girls at New Trier High School, preceded the refreshment period.



The Rev. Clyde H. Todd spoke on "Church History of Jefferson County" at the Society's quarterly meeting at Mt. Vernon in July. The Misses Margaret Ann and Doris Cummings also talked on "Historic Spot and Items of Local Interest."

Permanent quarters for the Kankakee County Historical Society are assured, following purchase by the state of the former Governor Len Small residence at Kankakee for \$25,000. The residence must be maintained as a memorial to Governor Small. Construction of a special wing for the use of the Historical Society and the Art League is planned.



The annual meeting of the Macon County Historical Society was held on June 12. Miss Mabel Wilson showed a collection of Civil War pictures taken by the famous Civil War photographer, Mathew B. Brady. Last year's officers were all re-elected. They are: Frank Sawyer, president; O. T. Banton, vice-president; Miss Mabel Richmond, secretary; and Miss Clara M. Baker, treasurer.



The semi-annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held on May 10 in Edwardsville. The program featured the "Pioneer Mother." The two principal addresses were: "My Pioneer Mother," by Mrs. Anna Dake Love, and "The Pioneer Mothers of My Community," by Mrs. Harry Bryan. Mrs. H. L. Meyer is president of the Society.

At the April meeting of the Edwardsville chapter of the Madison County Historical Society, the following officers were elected: Miss Louise Travous, president; Miss Edna Weir, vice-president; Mrs. David Fiegenbaum, secretary-treasurer; Donald Lewis, historian. Julian Vallette, Helen Schmidt, and the Rev. A. F. Ludwig were named directors.

Arthur W. Jagers is working out plans for the Edwardsville branch to make extensive explorations in an Indian mound southwest of Edwardsville.



Officers of the Oak Park Historical Society, chosen at its May meeting, are: Mrs. George W. White, president; Mrs. Thomas Doane, vice-president and program chairman; J. C. Miller, second vice-president and historical facts chairman; Mrs. Irwin S. Maze, third vice-president and librarian; Mrs. Frank Stevens, secretary-treasurer; Miss Jennie C. Larson, corresponding secretary. Trustees elected are: Thomas Doane, Evan W. Thomas, and Mrs. Elizabeth Crook.



Sidney Ulrich, fire chief of Peoria, told the history of the Peoria Fire Department at the May meeting of the Peoria Historical Society.

The following officers were chosen at this meeting: Philip Becker, Jr. president; H. L. Spooner, vice-president; Mrs. Edna Reichelderfer, secretary; and E. C. Bessler, treasurer. G. R. Barnett, E. E. East, and George Alfs were named directors, George Alfs replacing Ray Brons. E. C. Bessler conducted a short memorial service in honor of Frank Weber, Frank Burns, and Thomas Detweiler.



The Peoria County Old Settlers and Historical Association held its eightieth anniversary in August. Officers of the Association are: William C. White, president; George Alfs, vice-president; William E. Stone, treasurer; Mrs. Josephine B. Thurlow, recording secretary; and Albert F. Gury Jr., secretary and manager.



Memorial Day inaugurated a week of pilgrimages to the beautiful homes in Quincy sponsored by the city's Art Club. One of the homes visited in the tour was that of John Wood, first settler in Quincy and one time Governor of Illinois. The John Wood house is now the home of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County.



Officers chosen at the annual spring dinner meeting of the Rock Island Historical Society in May are: O. L. Nordstrom, president; C. R. Rosborough, vice-president; J. L. Oakleaf, second vice-president; Mrs. C. E. Stephenson, secretary; Mrs. Clair V. Golden, treasurer; Miss Hele Marshall, archivist. Directors chosen for three years are: M. H. Lyons Jr., W. C. Lukens, Wilson P. Hunt, Henry F. Staack, and Clair V. Golden.

C. C. Burford spoke on the historic localities of the upper Mississippi River and their picturesque personalities. Clair V. Golden read a paper prepared by the Rev. Henry First which described the breaking of the prairie sod with ox-drawn plows.



Final ceremonies in celebration of the centennial of Rockford College were held from June 13 to 15. It was the greatest homecoming of graduates the school has ever had. On June 14 a special pageant "House on Hill," based upon the book by Abbie Findlay Potts, was presented in the Rockford Armory. Baccalaureate services and commencement on June 15 closed a year of celebrations.

The St. Clair County Historical Society held a memorial meeting on June 15 to pay tribute to L. N. "Nick" Perrin, Jr., president of the Society, who died suddenly on June 12.



Announcement has been made that Governor Dwight H. Green will speak at the Saline County Centennial Celebration at the fairgrounds in Harrisburg on October 25. Many other state officials have announced their intention to participate in the centennial. Saline County natives who have passed their eightieth year are to be special guests of the Centennial Committee. Plans have been made to mark the historic sites in the county and to arrange tours to visit these places on October 24, the second day of the centennial.



At the June meeting of the Saline County Historical Society, Ernest L. Gates spoke on "Saline County Indians, their Burial and Camping grounds." Mr. Gates also displayed his collection of Indian relics. Finally the program consisted of reviews of books written by natives of Saline County. Scerial Thompson paid a tribute to Clarence Bonnell, organizer and first president of the Society, who died on June 21.



Officers of the Southern Illinois Historical Society whose terms expired were re-elected at the May meeting held in Anna. They are: J. Ward Barnes, president; John W. Allen, first vice-president; Mrs. J. P. Schuh, second vice-president; and N. W. Draper, treasurer. Directors elected are: J. Lester Buford, the Rev. H. J. Funke, Arthur F. Lee, and Miss Emma Brickey. Norman W. Caldwell presented a paper dealing with Fort Wilkinson, and I. O. Karraker spoke on "Early Water Mills of Union County."



Officers of the Stephenson County Historical Society are: J. R. Jackson, president; Miss Mabel Goddard, first vice-president; Mrs. J. Roy Nesbit, Sr., second vice-president; Clyde Kaiser, third vice-president; Philip L. Keister, secretary; R. P. Eckert, Jr., treasurer; Mrs. S. E. Raines and R. P. Eckert, Jr. were re-appointed as directors of the Society. Beginning on May 17, the Society's museum presented the exhibit of the Peepot Camera Club, while on July 18 a new display of paintings by students of the University of Wisconsin was placed in the museum's exhibition hall.

Plans are being considered in Waukegan for a memorial civic center and auditorium. It is hoped that there will be space in the building for a historical museum to house memorabilia of early days in Waukegan and Lake County.



The Winnetka Historical Society, at the annual meeting in May, terminated one of its most successful years. In the Society's program was a plan to erect suitable markers at a number of historic spots in Winnetka. The first two sites chosen for marking are the location of an Indian village and the site of the first public school. The plan for the erection of the and other historical markers has been approved by the Winnetka City Council.

Officers of the Society are: Miss Marion J. Russell, president; Samuel S. Otis, vice-president; Mrs. Willis Jackson, secretary; J. Roy West, treasurer. Frederick Bird was elected a director for one year and William C. Kurtz, Jr., for three years.



In the last issue of this *Journal*, a list of people who joined the Illinois State Historical Society during the first three months of 1947 was printed. New members who have been enrolled during April, May, and June are listed below:

Ablard, Mabel E.	Chicago, Ill.	Dolton, Mrs. G.	Mundelein, Ill.
Adams, T. C.	Sheridan, Ill.	Du Vivier, Joseph	New Haven, Conn.
Allen, Waldo M.	Lake Forest, Ill.	Edmonds, John	Salinas, Cal.
Annear, Guy M.	Mulkeytown, Ill.	Ellingen, O. J.	Mendota, Ill.
Aubrey, Mrs. Elma E.	LaSalle, Ill.		
Barnard, Mrs. Walter	Cave-in-Rock, Ill.	Farrar, Mrs. G. W.	Ottawa, Ill.
Barnes, Mrs. Roscoe M.	Rantoul, Ill.	Faye, Stanley K.	Aurora, Ill.
Barth, Claribee	Harvey, Ill.	Fischer, L. E.	Chicago, Ill.
Bartlett, Milton	LaSalle, Ill.	Flanigan, M. L.	Calumet City, Ill.
Baxter, Maurice G.	Champaign, Ill.	Fleming, Nathan A.	Marseilles, Ill.
Beck, Kay	Chicago, Ill.	Godfrey, Philip H.	Ottawa, Ill.
Bestor, Arthur E., Jr.	Urbana, Ill.	Godfrey, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas R.	Ottawa, Ill.
Black, Mrs. Stanley	Bryson City, N. C.	Goeddel, Esther	Waterloo, Ill.
Brenn, Mrs. Charles F.	Ottawa, Ill.	Gougar, Elizabeth J.	Joliet, Ill.
Brighenti, Josephine	Ottawa, Ill.		
Brown, Bertram W.	Joliet, Ill.	Handlin, W. C.	Lincoln, Ill.
Burns, Robert	Ottawa, Ill.	Hare, Howard B.	Chicago, Ill.
Carrott, Mrs. Esther M.	Quincy, Ill.	Harris, Frank E.	Lebanon, Ill.
Carus, Mr. & Mrs. Edward H.	LaSalle, Ill.	Harris, Mrs. Leonard T.	Chicago Heights, Ill.
Catlin, Mr. & Mrs. James P.	Ottawa, Ill.	Hartzler, La Verne	Wellman, Iowa
Cavanagh, Mrs. Mabel	Ottawa, Ill.	Hershberger, John H.	Chicago, Ill.
Cronk, A. H.	Rosiclare, Ill.	Hilgard, B. W.	Belleville, Ill.

ackson, Harry E.....	Waterloo, Ill.	Peck, Mrs. Henry Stuart.....	Chicago, Ill.
ry, Mrs. A. L.....	Minonk, Ill.	Petersen, Harold E.....	Chicago, Ill.
		Podell, Mrs. Beatrice Hayes.....	Chicago, Ill.
arson, David.....	Chicago, Ill.	Rexer, Mamie Marie.....	Golconda, Ill.
eslie, Ruby.....	Joliet, Ill.	Reynolds, Mrs. Le Roy.....	Decatur, Ill.
ng, Everette B.....	Chicago, Ill.		
cGrew, Forrest M.....	Galesburg, Ill.	Sieckmann, J. H.....	Quincy, Ill.
ero, Dr. Julian.....	Evanston, Ill.	Siewers, Anne.....	Chicago, Ill.
ichalov, Mary.....	Ottawa, Ill.	Simms, Florence.....	Streator, Ill.
itchell, C. Bradford.....	Washington, D. C.	Snyder, Mrs. Evelyn.....	Cairo, Ill.
oreland, Guyla Wallis.....	Mounds, Ill.	Spath, Dr. Alfred T.....	Bloomington, Ill.
orris, Warren M.....	Galesburg, Ill.	Symond, Arthur F.....	LaSalle, Ill.
ulligan, Rev. Robert A.....	LaSalle, Ill.	Turner, Philip L.....	Shelbyville, Ill.
urray, William B.....	Bloomington, Ill.	Tyler, L. O.....	Kansas, Ill.
uschler, Mrs. A. F.....	Aurora, Ill.		
		Visk, Felix.....	Chicago, Ill.
orlie, O. M.....	Northfield, Minn.	Walter, B. J.....	Mt. Carmel, Ill.
olinger, Emily D.....	Mattoon, Ill.	Weinel, Richard E.....	East St. Louis, Ill.
		Weis, J. Stanley.....	Mattoon, Ill.
ersons, Bruce.....	Chicago, Ill.	Witwer, Samuel W., Jr.....	Riverside, Ill.

The Society's membership committee consists of Jewell Stevens, Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, and Scerial Thompson. Local county chairmen in the northern area are: Herman G. Nelson, Winnebago; C. C. Tisler, LaSalle; Godfrey G. Luthy, Peoria. In the central area: Oliver D. Mann, Verilion; Edward E. Adams, Christian; U. L. Evans, Shelby; Craig Van Meter, Coles; Donald F. Lewis, Madison. In the southern area: Harold Baker, St. Clair; J. M. Mitchell, Wabash; Sam A. Ziegler, White; O. Karraker, Union; Judge Elihu Nicholas Hall, Hardin.

The list below includes the names of members who deserve thanks from the Society for adding new members during the period between October, 1946, and June 30, 1947:

drich, Frank W.....	Bloomington, Ill.	Larson, Robert H.....	Dearborn, Mich.
ll, Allen.....	Carmi, Ill.	Lewis, Donald F.....	Edwardsville, Ill.
rtlett, Milton.....	LaSalle, Ill.	Locke, Richard.....	Glen Ellyn, Ill.
cker, Philip, Jr.....	Peoria, Ill.	Lueck, Mary E.....	Des Plaines, Ill.
ggs, Morris H.....	Chicago, Ill.		
rk, Dr. Dwight F.....	Evanston, Ill.	Matheny, Willard R.....	Chicago, Ill.
rtis, Mrs. Effie Reavis.....	Terre Haute, Ind.	Miller, Fred Raney.....	Gilman, Ill.
		Murdock, Mrs. Helen.....	Ottawa, Ill.
rt, Ernest E.....	Peoria, Ill.	Muschler, Mrs. Arthur F.....	Aurora, Ill.
ans, U. L.....	Shelbyville, Ill.	Newman, Ralph G.....	Chicago, Ill.
nk, Seymour J.....	Chicago, Ill.	Nickols, D. F.....	Lincoln, Ill.
nkins, H. H.....	Ottawa, Ill.	Pfeiffenberger, George D.....	Alton, Ill.
yward, Oscar C.....	Winnetka, Ill.	Schenk, Marion.....	Chicago, Ill.
		Shelper, Will H.....	Bloomington, Ill.
nson, Capt. Joseph M.....	Chicago, Ill.	Taber, Mr. & Mrs. W. B., Jr.....	Kansas, Ill.
es, O. W.....	Murphysboro, Ill.	Tisler, C. C.....	Ottawa, Ill.
arney, Ruth D.....	Bluffs, Ill.	Trampe, R. Gerald.....	Golconda, Ill.
		Travous, R. Louise.....	Edwardsville, Ill.
tz, Senator Simon E.....	Congerville, Ill.	Wales, E. Max.....	LaSalle, Ill.

CONTRIBUTORS

Clarence P. McClelland has been President of MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois, since 1925. He is a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library. This address was delivered on October 10, 1946, at the centennial celebration of MacMurray College. . . . John Hope Franklin whose essay was awarded second prize in the Alfred W. Stern contest for essays on Illinois or Illinoisans in the Civil War, is Professor of History at Howard University, Washington, D. C. The diary of James T. Ayres is being published separately by the Illinois State Historical Society. . . Eugene B. Vest is Assistant Professor of English, University of Illinois, Galesburg Division. His home is in Dixon. . . . Dallas M. Young is Associate Professor of Economics and Business at Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa. . . . Clyde E. Henson, a native of southern Illinois, is at present on the faculty of the Department of English at Michigan State College, East Lansing.

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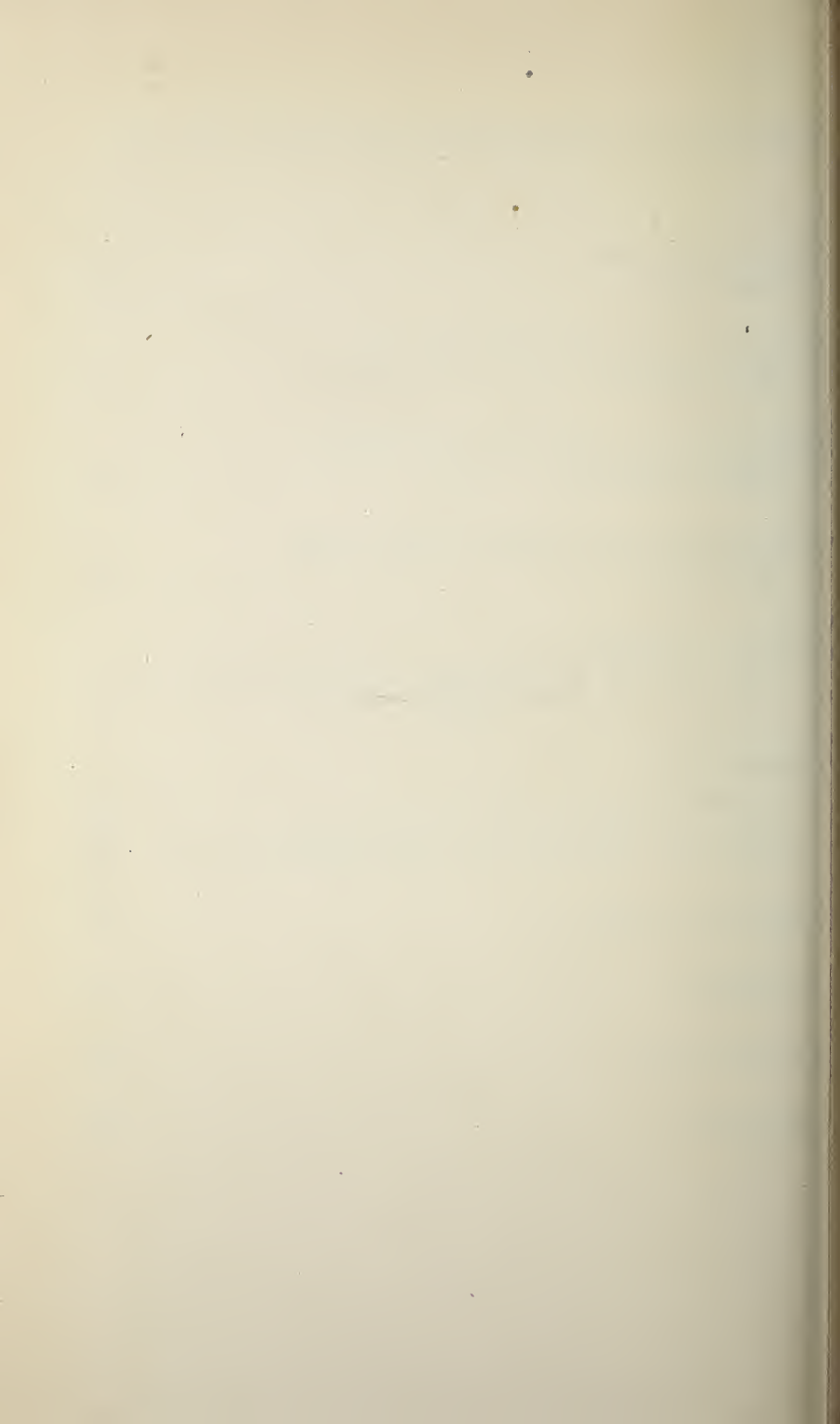
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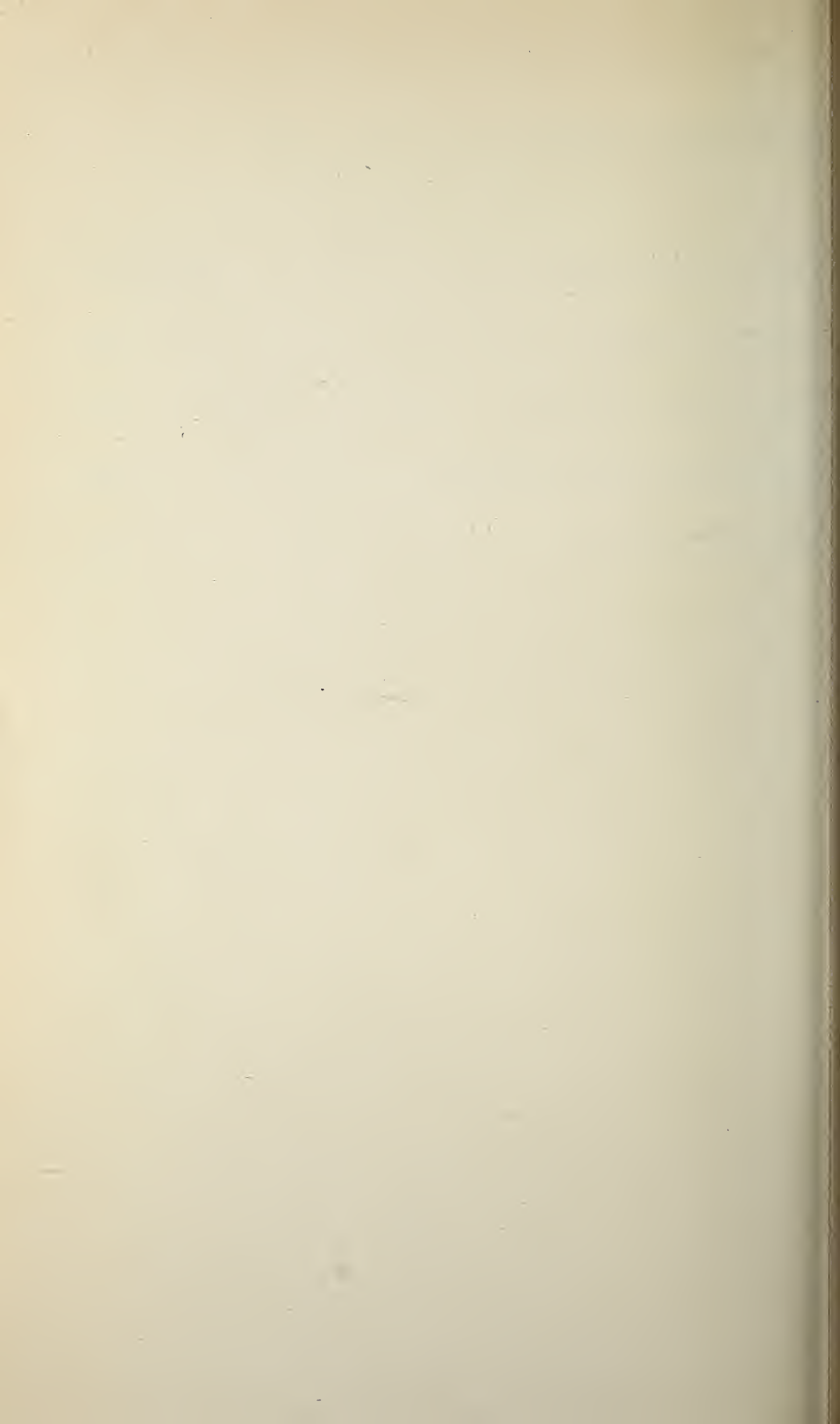
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THE FOLKLORE LINCOLN*

BY DAVID DONALD

I

THE Lincoln cult is almost an American religion. It has its high priests in the form of Lincoln "authorities" and its worshipers in the thousands of "fans" who think, talk, and live Lincoln every day. The very name of its founder possesses magical significance—witness its use in advertising everything from automobiles to barbershops. Lincoln's birthday is a national holiday, commemorated with solemn ceremonies. In 1909—the centennial of his birth—Illinois teachers were directed to devote at least half of the day of February 12 to "public exercises . . . patriotic music, recitations of sayings and verses . . . and speeches." The school children were to conclude the celebration by chanting in unison, with their faces turned toward Springfield, the following ritual:

A blend of mirth and sadness, smiles and tears;
A quaint knight errant of the pioneers;
A homely hero, born of star and sod;
A Peasant Prince; a masterpiece of God.¹

The Lincoln birthplace in Kentucky, the memorial in Washington, and the tomb in Illinois have become national shrines visited by thousands each week. The Lincoln admirer has his shelf of sacred books—a very extensive shelf, as one judges from the nearly four thousand titles listed in Jay Monaghan's

* Much of the research in connection with this article was performed during the author's tenure as Fellow of the Social Science Research Council.

¹ *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Abraham Lincoln: For the Schools of Illinois*, issued by Francis G. Blair (Springfield, 1903), 6.

Lincoln Bibliography. There are monographs on every subject from *Abraham Lincoln's Chiropodist* to *Lincoln's Favorite Hymn*. For no other American has there been such a constant searching of the auguries to learn *What Would He Do Were He Here Today?*²

It was probably inevitable that Lincoln should, as Emerson phrased it, "have become mythological in a very few years."³ America was badly in need of a hero. By 1865 George Washington seemed so dignified and remote that it was hard to think of him as a man, much less as a boy; he was a portrait by Peale or a Houdon bust. Davy Crockett had degenerated from frontier hero into comic legend. Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster were already slipping into the limbo of lost souls—the history books.

The times and the events of the Civil War had made a great popular leader necessary. There had been the emotional strain of war, the taut peril of defeat, the thrill of battles won, the release of peace. Then had come the calamitous, disastrous assassination. The people's grief was immediate and it was immense. Properly to describe it one would need the eloquence of a Whitman or a Sandburg. Men had a lost feeling. "The news of his going," mourned William H. Herndon, Lincoln's Springfield law partner, "struck me dumb, the deed being so infernally wicked . . . so huge in consequences, that it was too large to enter my brain. Hence it was incomprehensible, leaving a misty distant doubt of its truth. It *yet* does not appear like a worldly reality."⁴

Mourning intensified grief. The trappings of death—the black-draped catafalque, the silent train that moved by a cir-

² The full titles are *Abraham Lincoln's Dr. Isachar Zacharie, Chiropodist-General to the United States Army Chiropodist*: (1933?); *Lincoln's Favorite Hymn: Oh, Why Should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud* (Pompton Lakes, N.J., 1924); Emanuel Hertz, *The Many-Sided Lincoln: What Would He Do Were He Here Today?* (1926).

³ "I am sure if this man had ruled in a period of less facility of printing, he would have become mythological in a very few years. . . ." *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1903), XI: 311.

⁴ W. H. Herndon to Caroline H. Dall, May 26, 1865 (Dall MSS, Massachusetts Historical Society).

cuitous route over the land, the white-robed choirs that wailed a dirge, the crepe-veiled women, the stone-faced men—made Lincoln's passing seem even more calamitous. Over a million persons⁵ took a last sad look at the face in the casket and went away treasuring an unforgettable memory. They became of that select group who had seen Lincoln.

II

In those dark postwar decades there was keen interest in the Great Emancipator and Great Martyr—those two phases, always in capitals, keep cropping up in nearly all the correspondence of the period. There were those who speculated on what Lincoln would have done had he lived, and there were more who tried to recall what he had done while alive. An avid audience looked forward eagerly to the memoirs and reminiscences that began to flood the country. The Monaghan bibliography lists over four hundred and fifty speeches, sermons, and histories of Lincoln which appeared in the year of his death.

To this urgent demand for details on Lincoln's life, few would answer as did George Spears, a friend from New Salem days, who explained the brevity of his recollections by declaring: "At that time I had no idea of his ever being President therefore I did not notice his course as close as I should of."⁶ Not only persons who knew Lincoln retailed "facts" to the eager world, but also those who had merely met the President, or those who might have met him, or those who wished to have met him. Stories, sometimes without the slightest shadow of factual foundation, were spread by word of mouth, and by mere repetition gained authenticity. Then they appeared in Lincoln biographies and have been handed down ever since as indubitably accurate.

⁵ Lloyd Lewis, *Myths After Lincoln* (New York, 1941), 130.

⁶ George Spears to Herndon, November 3, 1865 (Herndon-Weik Collection, Library of Congress).

At the time of Lincoln's death there was no single pattern into which the stories and anecdotes about him could fit. In the blurred memories of former slaves there was the shadowy outline of a preternaturally shrewd Lincoln, half Moses, half Yankee. "I think Abe Lincoln was next to the Lord," said one ex-slave. "He done all he could for the slaves; he set 'em free." Then the aged Negro went on to "reminisce":

'Fore the election he [Lincoln] traveled all over the South, and he come to our house and slept in Old Mistress' bed. Didn't nobody know who he was . . . he come to our house and he watched close. . . . When he got back up North he writ Old Master a letter and told him that he was going to have to free his slaves, that everybody was going to have to. . . . He also told him that he had visited at his house and if he doubted it to go in the room he slept in and look on the bedstead at the head and he'd see where he'd writ his name. Sure enough, there was his name: A. Lincoln.⁷

Gradually the Negro built up a more emotional image of Lincoln, a perfect man and, in a peculiarly individual way, a personal emancipator. In Negro houses all over the nation one could find "many old pictures of Lincoln pasted on the walls of the sitting room over the mantelpiece They just had to have Lincoln near them," explains their chronicler, John E. Washington; "they loved him so." "His life to these humble people was a miracle, and his memory has become a benediction," Dr. Washington adds. "To the deeply emotional and religious slave, Lincoln was an earthly incarnation of the Savior of mankind."⁸

At the other extreme were the stories spread by Lincoln's political enemies, legends which still persist in some parts of the South. To these the sixteenth President was only "a man of coarse nature, a self-seeking politician, who craved high office . . . to satisfy his own burning desire for distinction."⁹ He was, so a Southern canard went, of Negro ancestry, or his

⁷ B. A. Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago, 1945), 16.

⁸ John E. Washington, *They Knew Lincoln* (New York, 1942), 15, 149.

⁹ George Edmonds (pseudonym for Mrs. E. A. Meriwether), *Facts and Falsehoods Concerning the War on the South, 1861-1865* (Memphis, 1904), 90.

presumptive parents were immoral, shiftless poor white trash. Unscrupulous as a lawyer, he was unprincipled as a politician. He was a man of low morality, and his "inordinate love of the lascivious, of smut," so it was whispered, was "something nearly akin to lunacy."¹⁰ But today, as Avery Craven has pointed out, "the unreconstructed are few and growing fewer,"¹¹ and most present-day Southerners would agree with the distinguished Louisiana historian, Charles Gayarré, who characterized Lincoln as "humane and pure, kindly disposed toward the South."¹²

III

Naturally the strongest growth of Lincoln legends has occurred in the North. There have been, in general, two opposing schools of tradition. One, essentially literary in character and often of New England or Eastern sponsorship, presented a prettified Lincoln, a combination of George Washington and Christ. Occasionally there were difficulties of reconciling the two ideas, and the resulting portrait looks somewhat like a Gilbert Stuart painting with a halo dubbed in by later, less skillful hands. The problem was to reconcile the standards of democracy in the gilded age with the familiar pattern of the Christ story. Fortunately for authors, consistency is not an essential in folklore.

In eulogies, sermons, birthday speeches, Republican campaign addresses, orations before the G.A.R., and in poems, too numerous to count and too tedious to read, one gets a glimpse of the pattern. This Lincoln has the outlines of a mythological hero; he is a demigod. Born in obscure circumstances, he rose over hardships, became President, was lawgiver to the Negro race, won a tremendous victory, and was killed at the height of his power. By his death he expiated the sins of his

¹⁰ Chauncey F. Black to Herndon, Feb. 29, 1871 (Herndon-Weik Collection, Library of Congress).

¹¹ Avery Craven, "Southern Attitudes Toward Abraham Lincoln," *Papers in Illinois History*, 1942 (Springfield, 1944), 10.

¹² Quoted in J. G. Randall, *Lincoln and the South* (Baton Rouge, 1946), 158.

nation. After one makes the obvious concessions required by mid-century morality and by the exigencies of a republican form of government, this portrait of Lincoln conforms very closely to the type of ideal hero in classical mythology.¹³

The eulogists had some doubts as to how Lincoln's ancestry should be presented. A mythological hero should spring from unknown parentage (or at least it is concealed even from himself), sent by the gods to save his tribe. There are a series of Lincoln poets and biographers who ask, "Whence came this man?" and answer: "As if on the wings of the winds of God that blew!"¹⁴ On the other hand, it comported more with American notions of respectability that the hero should have at least some family connections. The Lincolns have, therefore, been traced in elaborate monographs back to the early Massachusetts settlers and even to the English family of that name. The Hankses have been "proved" to derive their name from an Egyptian dynasty, or, as an alternative explanation, they were relatives of the Lees of Virginia.¹⁵

Regardless of origins, the biographers were sure of one thing. Lincoln loved his angel-mother. It is perhaps characteristic of the American attitude toward family life and of the extreme veneration for the maternal principle that the utterly unknown Nancy Hanks should be described as "a whole-hearted Christian," "a woman of marked natural abilities," of "strong mental powers and deep-toned piety," whose rigid observance of the Sabbath became a byword in frontier Kentucky—in short, "a remarkable woman."¹⁶ "A great man," asserted J. G. Holland in his widely circulated *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, "never drew his infant life from a purer or more

¹³ For an analysis of the type of mythological hero, see Lord Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama* (London, 1936), 179-80.

¹⁴ Samuel Valentine Cole, "Abraham Lincoln," Mildred Harrington, Josephine H. Thomas, compilers, *Our Holidays in Poetry* (New York, 1929), 3. In quoting phrases of poetry, liberties have occasionally been taken with the capitalization.

¹⁵ William E. Barton, "Abraham Lincoln Was a Lee," *Good Housekeeping*, Vol. LXXXVIII (Jan., 1929), 20, 21, 194, 196, 199.

¹⁶ William M. Thayer, *The Pioneer Boy, and How He Became President* (Boston, 1864), 20 48.

womanly bosom than her own; and Mr. Lincoln always looked back to her with an unspeakable affection."¹⁷

Lincoln's early life became, to this school of biography, an illustration of how determination and energy could triumph over circumstances; this Lincoln was the transcendent railsplitter. It was a carefully manipulated symbolism that had begun at the Illinois state Republican convention of 1860 when rails which Lincoln might have split were introduced to elicit applause. The theme was drummed and piped and bugled all through the campaigns of 1860 and 1864, and, regardless of its truth, the tale of Lincoln's "life of labor" which "brought forth his kingly qualities of soul" has become a part of the American tradition.¹⁸ Lincoln was never to escape; his Civil War administration would be appraised in terms of his early struggles:

Out yonder splitting rails his mind had fed
On Freedom—now he put her foes to rout.¹⁹

From these origins he rose to become President of the United States, and, surprisingly enough, a successful President. There must have been, a great many people believed, some supernatural force, some divine guidance behind his rise. "Out of the unknown, and by ways that even he knew not," orated the centennial speaker, becoming more mystical with each phrase, "came to this place of power, Abraham Lincoln. He came mysteriously chosen . . . by the instinctive voice of a predestined people. Called because he was chosen; chosen, because he was already choice."²⁰

There were elements in Lincoln's personality and career which did not blend well in this portrait of a demigod. He was

¹⁷ Josiah Gilbert Holland, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, Mass., 1866), 23.

¹⁸ A. S. Ames, "Abraham Lincoln," Harrington-Thomas, comps., *Our Holidays in Poetry*,

¹⁹ Dallas Williams, "The Rail-Splitter" (poem clipped from unidentified newspaper, University of Illinois Library).

²⁰ Joshua L. Chamberlain, "Abraham Lincoln," *Ceremonies in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Abraham Lincoln, Philadelphia, February 12, 1909* (Military Order of the Loyal Legion, Philadelphia, 1909), 11.

indubitably homely—not a major difficulty, to be sure, yet if a hero is not handsome he should at least be impressive. Rhymesters went to great length to explain the truth. Was Lincoln “ungainly, plain?” Not at all. “Grave was his visage,” it was admitted, “but no cloud could dull the radiance from within that made it beautiful.”²¹ A more serious obstacle was Lincoln’s levity. He told jokes—a thing unprecedented in the record of mythology. Writers were more familiar with the idea of “one who knew not play, nor ever tasted rest.”²² How could a man of sadness and tears laugh at Artemus Ward? The solution finally achieved was either that Lincoln’s laughter was designed to conceal his plans from his enemies or—more frequently—that it was called in as a sort of anodyne “to cease his ceaseless dole.”²³ Thus Lincoln became the laughing man of sorrows.

Another difficulty was Lincoln’s religion. It was embarrassing that this “soldier of his Captain Christ”²⁴ belonged to no Christian church. Shortly after Lincoln’s death there began to appear a veritable flood of affidavits and statements to prove, as Holland put it, that “Lincoln’s power” had been the “power of a true-hearted Christian man.”²⁵ Reminiscences on this point probably include more nonsense than can be found anywhere else in the whole tiresome mass of spurious Lincoln recollections. To him are attributed the most improbable statements. Lincoln was supposed to have had a secret conference with Newton Bateman, Illinois superintendent of public instruction, during which he pulled a Testament from his bosom and pointed to it as “*this rock* on which I stand.” “I know,” he is alleged to have confided, “that liberty is right, for Christ

²¹ Florence Earle Coates, “His Face,” Harrington-Thomas, comps., *Our Holidays in Poetry*, 14-15.

²² John Kendrick Bangs, “Lincoln’s Birthday” (poem clipped from unidentified news paper, University of Illinois Library).

²³ Edmund Clarence Stedman, “The Hand of Lincoln,” Osborne H. Oldroyd, ed., *The Poets’ Lincoln: Tributes in Verse to the Martyred President* (Washington, D.C., 1915), 48.

²⁴ Anonymous poem, “Lincoln,” Harrington-Thomas, comps., *Our Holidays in Poetry* 17.

²⁵ Holland, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 542.

teaches it and Christ is God."²⁶

Countless similar statements were given wide newspaper circulation. Lincoln reportedly ran upon one Benjamin B. Smith, a minister of Canton, Missouri, in a railway station, corralled him into his office, and begged from the willing pastor a private, hour-long discourse upon "foreordination, election and predestination."²⁷ During the darkest hours of the war Lincoln was supposed to have left his post in Washington in order to pray with Henry Ward Beecher in New York City.²⁸ So it went. There were those who could demonstrate that Lincoln was a Catholic, a Congregationalist, a Methodist, a Presbyterian, a Universalist, or a Spiritualist. Conflicting claims became so amusing that the editor of the *Springfield Illinois State Register* rejected them as "all wrong." "We are . . ." he remarked whimsically, "prepared to prove by indisputable documentary evidence that he was a Mormon, and the boon companion of Joe Smith."²⁹

For these minor defects Lincoln amply compensated by the manner of his passing. His assassination at once brought to mind the tender, familiar outlines of the Christ story. Lincoln as "Savior of his country" was by his death expiating the sins of the nation. The idea had universal appeal. One has only to leaf through the pages of Lloyd Lewis's *Myths after Lincoln* to discover how frequently the idea of vicarious sacrifice recurred to Northern preachers on that dread Black Easter of 1865. Some pointed to the significance of Lincoln's martyrdom on Good Friday. "It is no blasphemy against the Son of God," asserted a Connecticut parson, ". . . that we declare the fitness of the slaying of the second Father of our Republic on the anniversary of the day on which He was slain. Jesus Christ died for

²⁶ Newton Bateman to J. G. Holland, June 19, 1865 (Holland MSS, New York Public Library).

²⁷ Frederick D. Kershner, "As I Think of These Things" *Christian Evangelist* (April 30, 1942), 478-79.

²⁸ Samuel Scoville, Jr., "When Lincoln and Beecher Met: A Revealing Episode in Lincoln's Life," *Independent*, Vol. CXVI (Feb. 13, 1926), 180-82.

²⁹ *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], May 16, 1874.

the world, Abraham Lincoln died for his country."³⁰ Even so early the pattern of apotheosis was complete. America had a martyr hero, a perfect man, born to do great things, pure in heart, noble in action, and constant in principle. This was Lincoln, "President, savior of the republic, emancipator of a race, true Christian, true man."³¹

IV

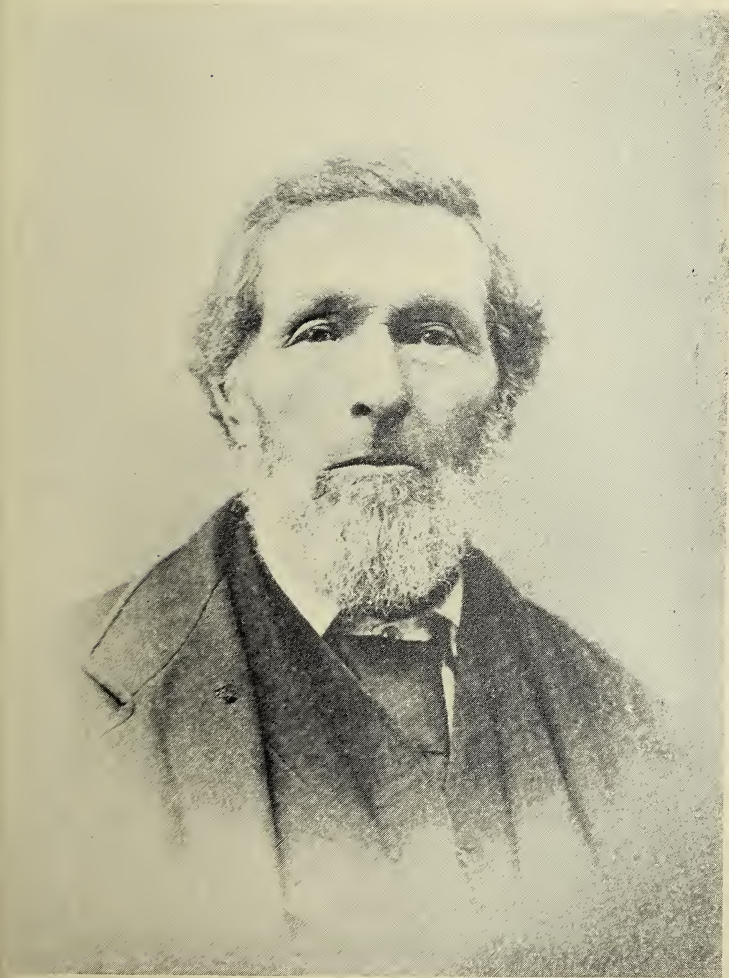
Lincoln was saved from this kind of deification by a different stream of tradition, frequently Western in origin and more truly folkloristic in quality. The grotesque hero—the Gargantua or the Till Eulenspiegel—is one of the oldest and most familiar patterns in folk literature. In America the type had already been exemplified by such favorites as Davy Crockett, Mike Fink, and Paul Bunyan. Of a like cut was the myth of Lincoln as frontier hero. This Lincoln of "folk say" was not a perfect man, but he had divinely human imperfections. He was the practical joker, the teller of tall and lusty tales. Stupendously strong, he was also marvelously lazy. A true romantic, he pined over the grave of Ann Rutledge, but he also lampooned one woman who refused him and jilted another who accepted. He was shrewd, a manipulator of men, whose art concealed his artfulness. He was Old Abe, a Westerner, and his long flapping arms were not the wings of an angel.

This folk pattern of Lincoln as frontier hero had been sketched in outline before his death. After his assassination the details were filled in. Many of the stories in this strong Western tradition can be traced back to Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, who has been called the "master myth-maker" of Lincoln folklore.³² Herndon did not invent the legends, but

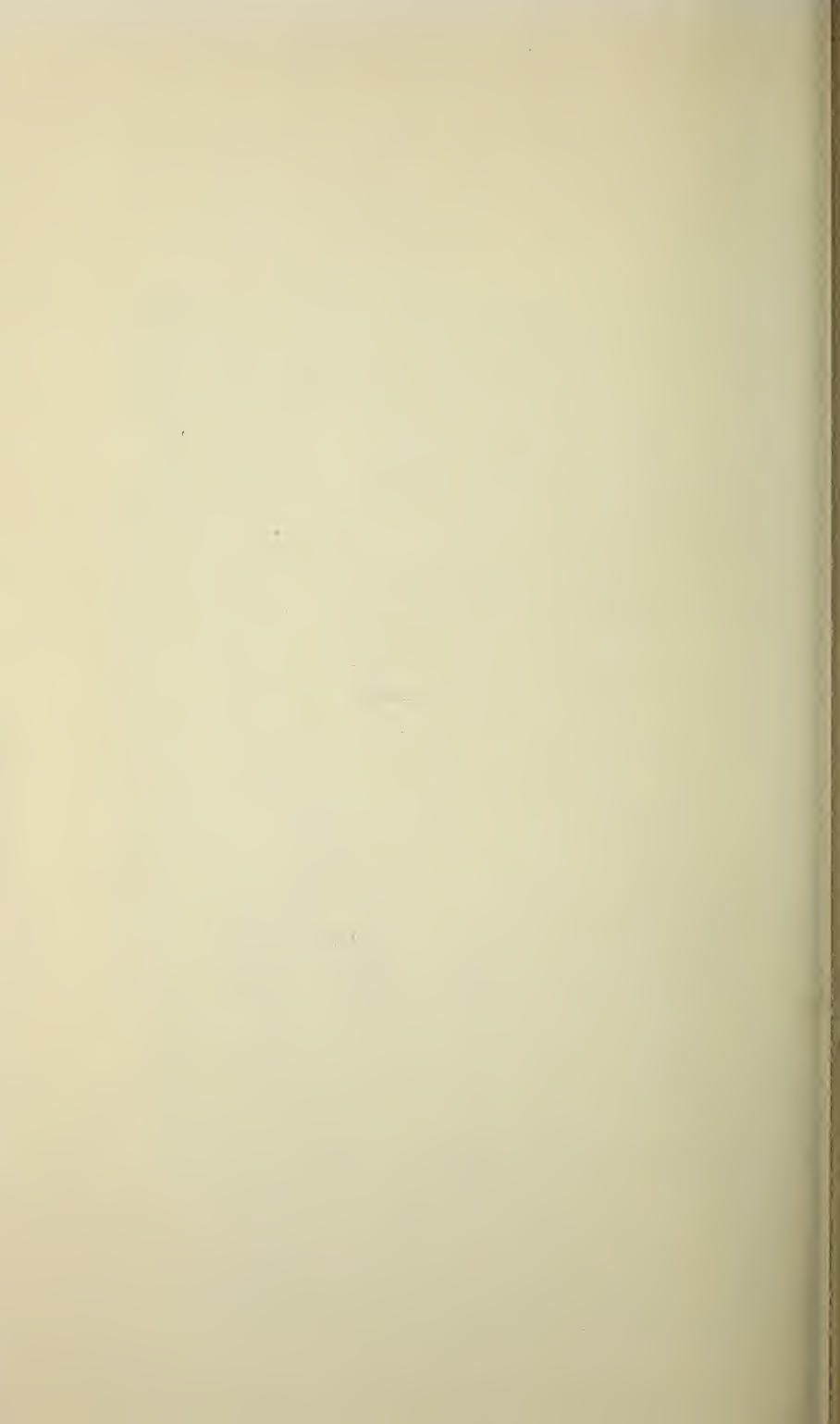
³⁰ Lewis, *Myths After Lincoln*, 95.

³¹ Holland, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 544.

³² Louis A. Warren, ed., *Lincoln Lore*, No. 611 (Dec. 23, 1940). See also Dr. Warren's "Herndon's Contribution to Lincoln Mythology," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XL (Sept., 1945), 221-24.



WILLIAM H. HERNDON, "BAD BOY" OF THE LINCOLN
BIOGRAPHERS, WHO WROTE THINGS THAT SOME
PEOPLE DO NOT LIKE BUT THAT ALL REMEMBER



his singular personality made him peculiarly receptive to this type of Western mythology. Herndon was born in Kentucky, and, as an early German traveler put it, "the Kentuckian is a peculiar man."³³ Moody, erratic, loquacious, addicted to high flown "philosophical" language, but with a penchant for barnyard stories, Herndon had shortly after his partner's death decided to write a biography of Lincoln. From the very outset he had in mind showing Lincoln as a Western character, shaped by the "power of mud, flowers, & mind" which he had encountered in the pioneer Northwest. Deliberately he sought to emphasize those factors which would distinguish Lincoln as a "Westerner" from his Eastern contemporaries. He proposed to exhibit "the type" of the "original western and south-western pioneer— . . . at times . . . somewhat open, candid, sincere, energetic, spontaneous, trusting, tolerant, brave and generous."³⁴

Seeking information about Lincoln, Herndon interviewed older settlers in central Illinois and southern Indiana at just the time when the outlines of the folk portrait were becoming firmly established. From his notes emerged the essentially fictitious picture of a semilegendary frontier hero. The stories Herndon collected fall into patterns familiar to the student of American folklore. Some remembered Lincoln as a ring-tailed roarer of the Davy Crockett type, who would wave a whiskey bottle over his head to drive back his foes, shouting that "he was the big buck at the lick."³⁵ There were tales of the Paul Bunyan variety, describing how Lincoln would "frequently take a barrel of whiskey by the chimes and lift it up to his face as if to drink out of the bung-hole," a feat which "he could accomplish with greatest ease."³⁶

³³ Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati, 1847), 326.

³⁴ Herndon to Charles Henry Hart, Nov. 28, 1866 (Hart MSS, Henry E. Huntington Library); Owen Clark to Herndon, Oct. 27, 1866, copy (Lamon MSS, Huntington Library); W. H. Herndon, *Lincoln and Ann Rutledge and the Pioneers of New Salem: A Lecture* (Herrin, Ill., 1945), 29.

³⁵ Herndon's interview with Green B. Taylor, Sept. 16, 1865 (Herndon-Weik Collection Library of Congress).

³⁶ R. B. Rutledge to Herndon, attested Oct. 22, 1866 (Herndon-Weik Collection).

This was the Lincoln who chastely wooed Ann Rutledge, and when she died pined sadly over her grave. "My heart," he was supposed to have said, "lies buried there."³⁷ More in the frontier tradition was his courtship of Mary Owens, a well educated Kentucky lady who refused his hand. Afterwards Lincoln described her as "weather-beaten," "oversize," and lacking teeth. Of a like pattern were the tales Herndon accumulated of Lincoln's domestic unhappiness with Mary Todd, for the henpecked husband is one of the oldest comic types in the history of humor and was a favorite in the Western joke books of the day. Herndon also collected irreligious or, as he called them, "infidel" statements attributed to Lincoln; the folk hero is frequently anti-clerical.

Many of these tales probably had a grain of historical truth, and their evolution exhibits the familiar developments of folk literature. "If a man has been well known for special powers," Robert Price has pointed out in his examination of the Johnny Appleseed traditions, "folk fancies soon seize upon particular instances of these powers, begin to enhance them into facts of remarkable quality, and then proceed, as the desire for greater color grows, to invent still others that will markedly emphasize the quality admired." As the historical personage becomes absorbed in the myth, "the whole cycle of his birth, youth, education, loves, mating, maturity, and death becomes significant and grows increasingly in color and particular detail."³⁸ On a rather sophisticated plane, the Lincoln of Western legend represented a true folk hero type.

The folkloristic quality of these stories is sometimes overlooked. When Herndon visited in Indiana, he was told of verses which Lincoln had written to celebrate the wedding of his sister:

³⁷ W. H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life* (Chicago, 1889), I: 131.

³⁸ Robert Price, "Johnny Appleseed in American Folklore and Literature," *Johnny Appleseed* (Paterson, N.J., 1946), 3.

When Adam was created
 He dwelt in Eden's shade,
 As Moses has recorded,
 And soon a bride was made.³⁹

(The poem continues for seven additional stanzas.) Dr. Milo M. Quaife has traced this ballad back to early English folk verse and has shown that it was introduced into America before the Revolutionary War.⁴⁰ In the process of being handed down, it somehow became identified in the minds of backwoods Hoosiers with Lincoln; it was related to Herndon as such; he published the verses in his Lincoln biography; and the poem is not infrequently cited as Lincoln's own original composition. Of the making of myths there is no end!

The process of evolving Western legends about Lincoln neither began nor ended with Herndon. Gossip, imagination, delayed recollection, and hearsay have all continued to multiply "Lincoln" stories. Sometimes the results of this accumulation of folk tales are very amusing. One can take, for example, the less familiar episode in Lincoln's early career—his projected duel with James Shields. The critical biographer admits that in 1842, Mary Todd and Julia Jayne published anonymously in the *Sangamo Journal* some satirical verses about Shields, then Illinois state auditor. That hot-tempered Irishman demanded of the editor the names of the writers, and Lincoln, to protect the ladies, offered to take the blame. After some stilted correspondence and much dashing back and forth of seconds, a duel with broadswords was arranged. Ultimately, however, explanations and apologies were made, and actual combat was averted. The affair remained a sore memory to Lincoln, and he disliked hearing the episode referred to. The actual facts of the case are easy to learn, and the whole matter is summarized in any good Lincoln biography.

³⁹ *Herndon's Lincoln*, I: 49.

⁴⁰ For example the ballad is found in a MS notebook in the Burton Historical Collection the Detroit Public Library following a sermon by William Pecker, "A Wedding Ring Fit the Finger, or, the Salve of Divinity on the Sore of Humanity" (1773). The present writer is indebted to Dr. Quaife, who has generously furnished information from his extensive researches on this subject.

As this same tale comes down in folklore, the whole emphasis is altered. It becomes an illustration of Lincoln the humorist and the practical joker. The duel had an amusing origin, according to one old settler, who had heard another old-timer tell the story:

Lawyer Shields and Julia Jayne were seated together at the supper table. Across the table from them sat Abe and Mary Todd. By and by the lawyer squeezed Julia's hand. In those days, you know, a pin was a woman's weapon. Julia used it when Shields squeezed her hand. And that made him scream. . . . Lincoln, who was a laughing fellow, haw-hawed right out loud, much to the embarrassment of Shields. Well to make a long story short, Shield[s] issued a duel challenge to Abe.⁴¹

Another version gives a play-by-play account of the duel that never happened. "Shields fired and missed," says this "eye-witness" reporter, speaking of an encounter which was to have been fought with broadswords. "Lincoln then took steady aim and fired. A blotch of read [*sic*] appeared on the breast of Shields who fell to the ground thinking he was mortally wounded, but in fact was unhurt. Lincoln's gun was loaded with poke-berries."⁴²

To treat such statements simply as exaggerated reminiscences is to miss their significance. They are really folk stories. Seldom do they have an identifiable author, for the narrator is recounting what "they said." The very pattern of the statements is significant; "to make a long story short" is a frequent formula to conclude the folk tale. The Shields episode is only one less widely known incident about which a surprisingly large amount of folklore has accumulated. The body of tradition concerning Lincoln's courtship, his marriage, or his law practice is much more voluminous. And there is an extensive cycle of ribald and Rabelaisian stories attributed to Lincoln for the most part unprintable and unfortunately gradually becoming lost.

⁴¹ Statement of William A. Clark, unidentified newspaper clipping from Blakeslee Scrap book (Lincoln National Life Foundation, Fort Wayne, Ind.).

⁴² *Morrison* [Okla.] *Transcript*, Feb. 7, 1930.

V

Few Negroes have written books about their great emancipator, and the viciously anti-Lincoln publications are nearly forgotten, but the other two major currents of tradition have produced a mountainous pile of Lincoln literature. Writers who fitted Lincoln into the pattern of a mythological demigod had the early start at the printing presses. A series of widely read and often quoted biographies began to appear shortly after Lincoln's death, starting with the Arnold and Holland lives and running without interruption through the work of Nicolay and Hay and that of Ida M. Tarbell. All were characterized by a highly laudatory tone and all presented Lincoln in an aura of great respectability.

Those who thought of Lincoln as the archetype of the frontiersman were outraged. Herndon was especially bitter at the "Finical fools," the "nice sweet smelling gentlemen" who tried to "handle things with silken gloves & 'a cammel [*sic*] hair pencil,'"⁴³ but for personal reasons his own book about Lincoln was delayed for many years. The publication in 1872 of Ward Hill Lamon's biography, ghost-written from Herndonian sources, marked the first widespread circulation in print of the Western version of Lincoln's career; it was greeted as "a national misfortune."⁴⁴ When *Herndon's Lincoln* appeared seventeen years later, it, too, met with shrill disapproval, and some shocked souls appealed to Anthony Comstock to suppress this indecent book.⁴⁵ This food was too coarse for sensitive stomachs.

It is a mistake to consider these two opposing currents of Lincoln tradition as representing respectively the "ideal" and the "real" Lincoln. Each was legendary in character. The conflict in Lincoln biography between the Holland-Hay-Tarbell faction and the Herndon-Lamon-Weik contingent was not

⁴³ Herndon to Weik, Jan. 2, 1887, and Nov. 22, 1888 (Herndon-Weik Collection).

⁴⁴ *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. IV (Aug., 1872), 510.

⁴⁵ *Chicago Evening Journal*, Sept. 15, 1889.

essentially a battle over factual differences; it was more like a religious war. One school portrayed a mythological patron saint; the other, an equally mythological frontier hero. Not all the Lincoln stories related by either school were entirely false, but the facts were at the most a secondary consideration. Acceptance or rejection of any Lincoln episode depended on what was fundamentally a religious conviction. Even today this attitude is sometimes found. A recent writer has attacked certain legends which he asserts "libel" Lincoln on two grounds—first, because they "do not create a truer or finer image of him" and, second, because the myths are "unsupported by trustworthy evidence."⁴⁶ The order of the reasons deserves notice.

It is widely recognized that the biographies of the Holland school are remote from reality; they present a conventionalized hero who is discussed from a "frankly eulogistic point of view."⁴⁷ Naturally the temptation has been to treat their opponents—such as Herndon, Lamon, and Weik—as realists, intent on giving a "true" picture of Lincoln. If there is any meaning left in the word realism, which is rapidly becoming semantically obsolescent, *Herndon's Lincoln* (which is typical of the writings of this latter school) is "realistic" neither in literary style nor in biographical approach.⁴⁸ Herndon's book was dedicated to proving a thesis—that Lincoln had his origin in a "stagnant, putrid pool" and rose through adversity to "the topmost round of the ladder."⁴⁹ All of its contents Herndon deliberately arranged to support this contention and to enlist readers' sympathies in behalf of his protagonist.⁵⁰ Rough and

⁴⁶ Montgomery S. Lewis, *Legends That Libel Lincoln* (New York, 1946), 5.

⁴⁷ Paul M. Angle, *A Shelf of Lincoln Books: A Critical, Selective Bibliography of Lincolniana* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1946), 38.

⁴⁸ Though the term has many meanings and more connotations, realism may be defined as "the method of literary composition that aims at an honest interpretation of the actualities. . . of life, free from subjective prejudice, idealism, or romantic color." It is "opposed to the concern with the unusual, which forms the basis of romance. . . ." James D. Hart, *The Oxford Companion to American Literature* (London, 1941), 625-26.

⁴⁹ *Herndon's Lincoln*, I: ix.

⁵⁰ "The reason why we wanted Nancy's character and acts was to show by contrast how a great man can rise out of the ashes. That's all." Herndon to Weik, Dec. 1, 1888 (Herndon-Weik Collection).

coarse elements were introduced into the biography, not primarily from conviction that these were vital aspects of human existence, but principally to serve the same function as the villain in the contemporary melodrama. Unlike the true realist, Herndon was concerned with the unusual and the sensational. It is difficult to understand how one can see in Herndon's emotionalized treatment of the Ann Rutledge legend the work of a biographical or literary realist. Actually the biographies of the Herndon school are stylized presentations of Western folklore. Herndon's own book recounts the epic of the frontier hero, transmogrified into the pattern of the sentimental novel.

Toward the end of the century the two conceptions of Lincoln—as mythological demigod and as legendary frontier hero—began to blend, sometimes with amusing results. John T. Morse's *Abraham Lincoln*, one of the better early biographies, made no effort to reconcile the two concepts but accepted them both. For Lincoln's early years Morse followed Herndon, and for the period of the Presidency, Nicolay and Hay. The result, he frankly admitted, tended to show that Lincoln was "physically one creature, morally and mentally two beings."⁵¹ In the huge file of newspaper reminiscences preserved in the Lincoln National Life Foundation one can trace the process by which demigod and hero became inextricably scrambled. By the centennial year of Lincoln's birth the frontier stories which had been considered gamy and rough by an earlier generation had been accepted as typical Lincolnisms; and on the other side, the harshness of the Herndonian outlines was smoothed by an acceptance of many traits from the idealized Lincoln.⁵² The result was a "composite American ideal," whose "appeal is stronger than that of other heroes because on him

⁵¹ Quoted in Roy P. Basler, *The Lincoln Legend* (Boston, 1935), 15-16.

⁵² It should be noted, for example, how greatly Lamon altered his point of view between the time of the publication of his first Lincoln book (1872) and the appearance of his *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* in 1895. Similarly, Jesse W. Weik, Herndon's literary assistant, smoothed away many of the rough edges of the Herndonian tradition before publishing his *The Real Lincoln: A Portrait*, in 1922.

converge so many dear traditions."⁵³ The current popular conception of Lincoln is "a folk-hero who to the common folk-virtues of shrewdness and kindness adds essential wit and eloquence and loftiness of soul."⁵⁴

VI

One may question the value of studying these legendary accounts of Lincoln. A more conventional procedure is to assault these air castles of contemporary mythology, to use the sharp tools of historical criticism to raze the imaginary structures, to purify the ground by a liberal sprinkling of holy water in the form of footnotes, and to erect a new and "authentic" edifice. Such an approach has its merits. One cannot overestimate the importance of thoroughgoing historical investigation of Lincoln's career; despite the huge bibliography of Lincolniana, there has been far too little scholarly, scientific research into the realities of Lincoln's life. It should be remembered that the first comprehensive Lincoln biography by a professional historian appeared as recently as 1945.⁵⁵

But there is also room for investigation of another sort. Referring to the "debunking" of historical myths and legends, W. A. Dunning, in his presidential address before the American Historical Association, reminded his hearers that in many cases "influence on the sequence of human affairs has been exercised, not by what really happened, but by what men erroneously believed to have happened." In turning to history for guidance, he observed, men have acted upon "the error that passes as history at the time, not from the truth that becomes known long after." He concluded by pointing out that "for very, very much history there is more importance in the ancient error than in the new-found truth."⁵⁶

⁵³ Dixon Wecter, *The Hero in America: A Chronicle of Hero-Worship* (New York, 1941), viii, 270.

⁵⁴ "The Poetical Cult of Lincoln," *Nation*, Vol. CVIII (May 17, 1919), 777.

⁵⁵ J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg* (New York, 1945).

⁵⁶ William Archibald Dunning, "Truth in History," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, no. 2 (Jan., 1914), 220, 225, 229.

His warning applies in the field of Lincoln biography. As J. Frank Dobie has put it: "The history of any public character involves not only the facts about him but what the public has taken to be facts."⁵⁷ It is important to examine the Lincoln legends as they have existed, for they express a collective wish-fulfillment of the American people. This is no metaphysical abstraction; it is simply that "heroes embody the qualities that we most admire or desire in ourselves."⁵⁸ Fully realizing their general inaccuracy and almost universal distortion, the student can use these myths for an understanding of what plain Americans have wished their leaders to be. "If the folk aspiration is worthy, its dreams of great men will be worthy too."⁵⁹

Unless one conceives of time as ending with 1865, the Lincoln of folklore is of more significance than the Lincoln of actuality. The historian may prove that the Emancipation Proclamation had negligible effect on the actual freeing of slaves, yet Lincoln continues to live in men's minds as the emancipator of the Negroes. It is the folklore Lincoln who has become the central symbol in American democratic thought; he embodies what ordinary, non-verbal Americans have cherished as ideals; he is "first among the folk heroes of the American people."⁶⁰ From a study of the Lincoln legends the historian can gain a more balanced insight into the workings of the American mind. As it is now written, intellectual history is too often based on printed sources—sermons, speeches, commencement addresses, books, and newspapers. The result is inevitably a distortion. The men who write books or edit papers are not average citizens. It is much as though the Gallup poll were to interrogate only college presidents. To understand the thinking of ordinary men and women, the historian must delve into their beliefs, their superstitions, their gossip, and their folklore.

⁵⁷ Quoted in B. A. Botkin, ed., *A Treasury of American Folklore* (New York, 1944), 1.

⁵⁸ Botkin, ed., *A Treasury of American Folklore*, 2.

⁵⁹ Wecter, *Hero in America*, viii.

⁶⁰ Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1943), 413.

The Lincoln ideal offers an excellent starting point for the investigation. As the pattern has gradually become standardized, the folklore Lincoln is as American as the Mississippi River. Essentially national, the myth is not nationalistic. It reveals the people's faith in the democratic dogma that a poor boy can make good. It demonstrates the incurable romanticism of the American spirit. There is much in the legend that is unpleasant—Lincoln's preternatural cunning, his fondness for Rabelaisian anecdote, his difficulties with his wife—yet these traits seem to be attributed to every real folk hero. The fundamental qualities of the legendary Lincoln emphasize the essential dignity and humanity of our nation's everyday thinking. It speaks well for Americans that to the central hero in their history their folklore has attributed all the decent qualities of civilized man: patience, tolerance, humor, sympathy, kindness, and sagacity.

THE HISTORIANS OF THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE

BY RAY A. BILLINGTON

THE historian is not only a recorder but a maker of history. Through no fault of his own, the words with which he describes events of the past become, for future scholars, part of the record of his own day, disclosing meanings that he had no thought of revealing. For, strive as he will for objectivity, the historian is subconsciously influenced by the intellectual atmosphere in which he lives. The changing thought patterns of any nation are revealed in the writings of its students as they interpret and reinterpret the history of bygone ages. The historiography of the Ordinance of 1787 illustrates their proneness to reflect the prejudices of the era in which they live. For 160 years, scholars have examined and re-examined both its origin and its terms, and the results, although often bad history, reveal the changing intellectual interests of the American people.

Students of today recognize the Northwest Ordinance as a monumental document, chiefly notable for inaugurating an unbelievably liberal colonial system: one which provided for the political evolution of the colonies until they were ready to enter the mother country on equal terms. Scholars agree that Congress accepted this principle partly because its members vividly remembered their own pre-Revolutionary insistence on complete co-ordinacy within the British Empire, partly because frontier demands for self-government threatened a new revolution unless equality was granted to the West. And the modern historian is aware that the Ordinance was adopted because of pressure from land jobbers, and that its terms represented a

retreat toward conservatism when compared with earlier congressional measures, notably Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784.¹

Yet more than a century of varying interpretations passed before this point of view was accepted. For fifty years after its adoption the Ordinance attracted almost no attention; writers of the early national period were too concerned with the stirring events of colonization and revolution to trouble themselves with such an unromantic act. David Ramsay, whose *History of the American Revolution* was standard for a generation, dealt at length with the critical period, but was apparently unaware that an important law concerning the West graced the congressional statute books.² Nor were his contemporaries more concerned.³ Generations of Americans read their history books without knowing that their nation's colonial system was unique.

The few historians who did mention the Northwest Ordinance during that period singled out some features of the measure which bolstered a pet thesis of their own. Thus Richard Hildreth, author of a standard three-volume *History of the United States of America*, reflected his Jacksonian background when he fastened upon the clause outlawing primogeniture as worthy of mention. He wrote:

A special proviso that the estates of all persons dying intestate in the territory should be equally divided among all the children or next of kin in equal degree, established the important republican principle not then introduced into all the states, of the equal distribution of landed as well as personal property.⁴

¹ A convenient summary of modern historical opinion concerning the Ordinance is in Theodore C. Pease, "The Ordinance of 1787," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XXV (September, 1938), 167-80. Milo M. Quaife, "The Significance of the Ordinance of 1787," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXX, no. 4 (January, 1938), 415-28, is also useful.

² David Ramsay, *The History of the American Revolution*, 2 v. (London, 1793).

³ Among histories of the era that fail to discuss the Northwest Ordinance are: Abie Holmes, *The Annals of America*, 2 v. (Cambridge, 1829); John H. Hinton, *The History and Topography of the United States*, 2 v. (London, 1830); Salma Hale, *History of the United States*, 2 v. (New York, 1840); John Frost, *Pictorial History of the United States*, 4 v. (Philadelphia 1843-1844); Marcus Willson, *American History* (Chicago, 1856); S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History* (Cincinnati, 1848); Guillaume T. Poussin, *The United States* (Philadelphia, 1851); and Emm Willard, *Abridged History of the United States* (New York, 1856).

⁴ Richard Hildreth, *The History of the United States of America* (New York, 1849), III:257.

To Hildreth, that clause was more important than the whole colonial principle embodied in the Ordinance. To another scholar of that day, a historian of Ohio, the section most worthy of emphasis was that assuring the perpetual free use of western streams.⁵ Routes to markets seemed more vital to transportation-hungry westerners of the 1830's than governmental theories.

Others among early writers seized upon the Northwest Ordinance as an excuse for unbridled eulogy that typified the violent nationalism of that day. Typical was the effusion of Timothy Walker of Ohio:

Upon the surpassing excellence of this Ordinance no language of panegyric would be extravagant. It approaches as nearly to absolute perfection as anything to be found in the legislation of mankind; for after the experience of fifty years, it would perhaps be impossible to alter without marring it. In short, it is one of those matchless specimens of sagacious forecast which even the reckless spirit of innovation would not venture to assail.⁶

Scarcely less ecstatic was George Bancroft, who, although writing the final volumes of his famous history at a later date, still reflected the ardent nationalism of the pre-Civil-War years. He wrote:

Every man that had a share in it seemed to be led by an invisible hand to do just what was wanted of him; all that was wrongfully undertaken fell to the ground to wither by the wayside; whatever was needed for the happy completion of the mighty work arrived opportunely, and just at the right moment moved into its place.⁷

To writers of this ilk, the Ordinance of 1787 was a gift from a benevolent Creator who took this unusual means to show pleasure with His creatures.

A few among the authors of that early period, blinded neither by patriotic prejudice nor special interests, caught a faint glimmering of the Ordinance's true significance. That

⁵ Caleb Atwater, *History of the State of Ohio* (2d ed.; Cincinnati, 1838), 126-27.

⁶ Quoted in William F. Poole, "Dr. Cutler and the Ordinance of 1787," *North American Review*, Vol. CXXII (April, 1876), 233.

⁷ George Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America* (2d ed.; New York, 1882), II:93.

the measure established a remarkable colonial system they did not see, that its evolution was due to speculative pressure and western influence they did not discern, but they did recognize something of its importance to later generations. Timothy Pitkin, one of the better-known minor historians of the 1820's, correctly stated that "this ordinance is the basis of the governments established by Congress, in all the territories of the United States; and may be considered an anomaly in American legislation."⁸ A decade later a chronicler of Ohio accurately described the governmental evolution of western territories to the point where their colonial status was to cease, "and such territory was to become a state, and be admitted into the Union."⁹ Another remarked that "the territory, in the earlier grade, would seem to have been regarded as a political infant, that would need wet-nurses, and dry-nurses, and swaddling-clothes," until its mounting population assured a larger degree of self-control.¹⁰ Significantly, most of the writers who displayed real understanding of the Ordinance were from the West rather than from that breeding-ground of nineteenth-century historians, New England.

If left to themselves they might have developed thinking on the Northwest Ordinance to the point reached today, but an ill-advised remark by Daniel Webster decreed otherwise. During his famous debate with Robert Y. Hayne in 1830, Webster singled out the antislavery clause of the measure for adulation. He told his fellow senators and all the nation:

It fixed forever the character of the population in the vast regions northwest of the Ohio, by excluding from them involuntary servitude. It impressed on the soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than freemen. It laid the interdict against personal servitude, in original compact, not only deeper than all local law, but

⁸ Timothy Pitkin, *A Political and Civil History of the United States of America* (New Haven, 1828), II:211.

⁹ Arwater, *History of the State of Ohio*, 126-27.

¹⁰ Jacob Ferris, *The States and Territories of the Great West* (New York, 1856), 157. A similar point of view is expressed in Samuel Eliot, *Manual of United States History* (Boston, 1857), 275.

deeper, also, than all local constitutions. . . . It was a great and salutary measure of prevention.

And the author, Webster claimed, was Nathan Dane, a congressman from Massachusetts.¹¹

These extravagant claims did a dual harm. They led to a meaningless, half-century-long controversy over the authorship of the Ordinance that began when Hayne and Thomas Hart Benton answered Webster by claiming responsibility for Jefferson rather than Dane.¹² Dane replied in a lengthy letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society which immodestly insisted that he was the sole author.¹³ His assertions were challenged by descendants of Rufus King, New York politician and anti-slavery leader, who claimed the honor for their ancestor,¹⁴ and by Edward Coles, Illinois' second governor, who entered the lists to uphold Jefferson's authorship.¹⁵ For fifty years this futile argument obscured the true fact: that the Ordinance of 1787 was the product of no one man's genius, but the fruit of a generation of thinking on colonial matters.

Webster performed a still greater disservice by calling attention to the antislavery section of the Ordinance just as the conflict over bonded servitude was becoming acute. Blindly ignoring the true significance of the measure, historians for the next half century fastened their attention upon that one obscure clause, repeating its provisions endlessly or heaping unwarranted eulogies upon its every word. Even westerners, who should have been aware of the importance of a territorial system which assured them something better than perpetual colonial status, succumbed to the temptation. "The Ordi-

¹¹ Daniel Webster, *The Works of Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1851), III:264. Speech of January 1, 1830.

¹² *The Works of Daniel Webster*, III:277; Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1854), I:133.

¹³ Letter of March 26, 1830. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, Vol. X (Boston, 1869), 475-80.

¹⁴ Quoted in B. A. Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest* (New York, 1888), 274.

¹⁵ Edward Coles, "History of the Ordinance of 1787," read before the Pennsylvania Historical Society in June, 1856, and printed in Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Governor Edward Coles* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XV, Springfield, 1920), 376-98.

nance," wrote Jacob Burnet from the Middle West, "affirmed and perpetuated the great principles of liberty, civil and religious, which had been set forth in the Declaration of Independence—re-affirmed in the Treaty of 1783, and perpetuated by the federal constitution."¹⁶ And Emma Willard, in her *History of the United States*, dismissed the measure in these none too-accurate words: "The bill for the erection of the Northwest Territory passed Congress in 1787. While it was pending, Mr. Jefferson introduced and carried an amendment forever excluding slavery from that extensive region."¹⁷

The comparative moderation of these authors was due partly to their western origin, and partly to the hope of sectional reconciliation in the pre-Civil-War years; but with the close of the war and the loosing of the floodgates of New England invective, temperance was forgotten. From 1865 to the 1880's virtually every historian viewed the Ordinance simply as a device to ban slavery in the Northwest. The pattern was set by Herman von Holst, whose eight-volume *Constitutional and Political History of the United States* reflected its author's abhorrence of bonded labor on every page. Ignoring the chronological principle which governed most of his work, Von Holst inserted his discussion of the Ordinance in a chapter on the "History of the Slavery Question," then summed up its provisions in a masterpiece of faulty emphasis:

July 11, 1787, a committee of which Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, was chairman, laid before Congress a plan for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio. Article VI of the "compact between the original states and the people and states of the said territory" forbade forever slavery and involuntary servitude, but provided for the surrender of fugitives. . . . The whole plan was unanimously adopted July 13 by the states.¹⁸

Not a word on the territorial process nor the western influence

¹⁶ Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwestern Territory* (New York, 1847), 37-38.

¹⁷ Emma Willard, *History of the United States* (New York, 1851), 268.

¹⁸ Herman von Holst, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States* (Chicago, 1876-1892), I:288.

shaping the measure; to Von Holst only the minor clause on slavery was worth mentioning.

His astigmatism proved contagious; from that day on every historian, whether a learned scholar or a plagiarizing popularizer, fastened upon the antislavery clause of the Ordinance as alone worthy of interest. James Schouler, whose five-volume history was read for a generation, dismissed the measure in these words:

By far the most momentous achievement of that year in the Continental Congress was the passage of an ordinance for securing freedom to the inhabitants of the territory northwest of the Ohio. This famous piece of legislation . . . stands out as the last really brilliant achievement of a procrastinating, paralytic, dying assembly, which in the first immortal prime had rung its clarion across the seas.¹⁹

John Bach McMaster, author of the first voluminous history of the American people, similarly left no doubt as to his interest:

It parted out the region into three States; it provided that when any of them acquired a population of sixty thousand souls it should be admitted to the Union; it guaranteed freedom of worship, but said not a word about slaves. Grayson noticed this, and to him, perhaps more than anyone else, is to be ascribed the honor of introducing that clause which at the second reading of the bill became the Sixth Article. Involuntary servitude was forbidden forever; but fugitive slaves from other States were to be given up.²⁰

John Fiske, in a popular school history of the day, also obscured the true meaning of the measure:

The famous Ordinance of 1787, which organized that territory, prohibited slavery forever within its limits, and so all the states north of the Ohio came into the Union as free states. The Ohio River was the boundary line between freedom and slavery for black men.²¹

¹⁹ James Schouler, *History of the United States of America* (Washington, 1880-1891), I:73.

²⁰ John B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1888-1913), I:508.

²¹ John Fiske, *A History of the United States for Schools* (Boston, 1894), 302-03. Even George Bancroft, although too good a historian to be blinded completely by antislavery propaganda, introduced one section of his discussion of the Ordinance with: "On the thirteenth day of July, 1787, the great statute forbidding slavery to cross the river Ohio was passed." *History of the Formation of the Constitution*, II:115. Similar treatments are in Edward E. Hale, *History of the United States* (New York, 1887), 223; M. E. Thalheimer, *The Eclectic History of the United States* (Cincinnati, 1881), 190-91; and Arthur Gilman, *A History of the American People* (Boston, 1883), 340-41.

When the historical great were guilty of such misstatement, little wonder that popularizers or text writers outdid themselves to glorify the Northwest Ordinance as a monument along the path to abolitionism. William Cullen Bryant, who was guilty of a four-volume effusion celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the nation, had this to say:

By the Ordinance of 1787, all the territory northwest of the Ohio . . . was saved for free men and free labor by the interdiction of slavery then and forever. It was expected that this western country would be settled by emigrants from the Northern States, and millions of acres were bought for that purpose by a Massachusetts Land Company, and others, at the time of the passage of the Ordinance. It was probably for this reason that the Constitution and laws of Massachusetts were made the basis of the Ordinance, and the work of framing it was entrusted to Nathan Dane, a member of Congress from that State; and for this reason, probably, the Southern members of the committee, to whom the subject was referred acquiesced in the prohibition of slavery in a region where they did not believe it would flourish.²²

Scarcely less restrained was Thomas Wentworth Higginson:

It was not till July 13, 1787, that the statute passed by which slavery was forever prohibited in the territory of the North-west, this being moved by Nathan Dane as an amendment to the ordinance already adopted—which he himself had framed—and being passed by a vote of every State present in the Congress, eight in all.²³

Less well-known authors were equally at fault. One wrote:

This Ordinance was a marvelous instrument from beginning to end but upon its sixth article hung great issues for the future. By this article slavery was abolished forever. The years would bring changes in the attitude of the original thirteen states toward the slavery question. But as for the Northwest Territory, its policy was fixed by law in the Ordinance of 1787. There could be no slavery north of the Ohio River.²⁴

Another proclaimed:

²² William Cullen Bryant and Sydney H. Gay, *A Popular History of the United States* (New York, 1880), IV:110.

²³ Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *A Larger History of the United States of America* (New York, 1886), 306. Higginson emphasized the same point of view in his *Young Folks' History of the United States* (Boston, 1883), 231. Edward Eggleston, *A History of the United States and Its People* (New York, 1888), 232, also stressed the antislavery provisions of the Ordinance.

²⁴ Alma H. Burton, *History of the United States* (Chicago, 1899), 174.

In this document, known as the "Ordinance of 1787," slavery was forever prohibited in that territory. Had it not been for this prohibition Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois would no doubt have become slave States, as they were largely settled by emigrants from Virginia and Kentucky.²⁵

Others saw in the measure's antislavery clause the reason for the Northwest's rapid settlement and continued growth. Wrote one:

This wise provision . . . was the basis of the wonderful prosperity of this great region. . . . The northwest being secured for freedom, emigration soon set in, and it began its great career of prosperity which has since known no slackening.²⁶

Said another:

The existence of these conditions in the "Northwest Territory" . . . created a mighty stream of emigration to flow down the western slopes of the Alleghany [*sic*] Mountains into the Ohio Valley.²⁷

Men of that generation wrote bad history partly because they were blinded by their nearness to the slavery controversy, partly because they were easterners. Not until western scholars turned their attention to the origins of the Northwest Ordinance could a modern interpretation emerge. These energetic diggers made a dual contribution. They pointed out the West's role in shaping the measure by showing the influence on Congress of the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, agent of the Ohio Company. And they demonstrated that the Ordinance was important, not for its bill of rights, but for the colonial system it established. Their reinterpretation began in 1872, but had little effect on scholarship until the 1880's.

Cutler's influence was revealed when historians availed themselves of the voluminous diaries which recorded in detail, although with discretion, his experiences as a lobbyist. The document was first used by an amateur historian and clergy-

²⁵ Henry W. Elson, *Side Lights on American History* (New York, 1900), 153. For similar views see Elia W. Peattie, *The Story of America* (Chicago, 1889), 421, and E. Benjamin Andrews, *History of the United States* (New York, 1894), I:228-29.

²⁶ James D. McCabe, *The Centennial History of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1874), 572-73.

²⁷ Benson J. Lossing, *Our Country, A Household History for All Readers* (New York, 1878), II:1115.

man, the Reverend Joseph F. Tuttle of New Jersey, who on May 16, 1872, presented his findings to the New Jersey Historical Society.²⁸ His claims—that the activities of the Ohio Company must be recognized to understand the nature of the Ordinance, and that Dr. Cutler was the author of the clauses on education and slavery—were bolstered by the research of a more competent scholar, William F. Poole of Ohio. After a thorough study of the Cutler diary, Poole, speaking before the Cincinnati Literary Club on December 21, 1872, revealed for the first time the hidden story of the law's drafting: of the bill before Congress when Cutler arrived on July 5, the appointment of a new committee to consider the matter on July 9, the suggestions of the New England clergyman to the committee, and the final passage in a form pleasing to the prospective immigrants.²⁹

Neither in this paper, nor in a fuller statement prepared for the *North American Review* a short time later,³⁰ did Poole fathom all the mysteries of the Northwest Ordinance. He still overemphasized the importance of the antislavery clause; he failed to grasp the significance of the relationship between Cutler and the Scioto Associates; and, worst of all, he made no connection between the American demand for empire coordinacy, voiced in 1775, and the law adopted in 1787. Instead he pictured the Ordinance as being written *de novo* between July 9 and July 13, 1787, insisted that Cutler dictated most of its provisions, and laid the excellence of the document to two things: the demands of prospective settlers for a satisfactory governmental system, and the example provided them by the sterling political institutions of the Massachusetts from which they came. He wrote:

²⁸ New Jersey Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 2d series, Vol. III (Newark, 1874).

²⁹ William F. Poole, "Manasseh Cutler," *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. XXVII (April, 1873), 161-65.

³⁰ William F. Poole, "Dr. Cutler and the Ordinance of 1787," *North American Review*, Vol. CXXII (April, 1876), 229-65. Poole argued that Cutler's influence explained the different drafts of the Ordinance which had puzzled historians since they were first uncovered by Peter Force and printed in the *National Intelligencer*, August 26, 1847.

The Ordinance of 1787 is a condensed abstract of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. Every principle contained in the former, either in a germinal or developed form, except that relating to the obligation of contracts, and some temporary provisions relating to the organization of the territorial government, is found in the latter, and often in the same phraseology.³¹

Still blinded to the colonial implications of the measure, Poole continued to overemphasize the importance of the Ordinance's bill of rights.

A long step toward a more modern interpretation was taken by Cutler's grandson a decade later. In an address before the Ohio State Archaeological Society on February 23, 1887, William P. Cutler relegated the slavery clause to its proper niche, while emphasizing for the first time the role of the Ordinance in America's colonial system. He stated:

[The measure] stands out in history as an isolated effort on the part of its authors to forecast a complete system of government and project it over a vast territory in advance of its actual occupation by future inhabitants. . . . The Ordinance of '87 was thrown forward into a wilderness, carrying with it not only organic principles, but embracing the details of a governmental autonomy that has stood the test of a century.³²

In both this address and a biography of Manasseh Cutler published a year later,³³ William P. Cutler anticipated twentieth-century scholarship by recognizing that the Northwest Ordinance established a startlingly liberal colonial system. In other ways he was less modern. Failing to see that the measure was a product of its times, he entered into the hoary argument over authorship, claiming a major portion for his ancestor and the remainder for other members of the Ohio Company. The act was noteworthy, he believed, because it was "largely the work of Pioneer settlers seeking homes under its protection, rather than of wise Statesmen who had no such motive to guide

³¹ Poole. "Dr. Cutler and the Ordinance of 1787," *North American Review* (April, 1876), 58. These arguments were repeated in an address before the American Historical Association on December 26, 1888. William F. Poole, *The Early Northwest* (New York, 1889).

³² William P. Cutler, *The Ordinance of July 13, 1787* (Marietta, Ohio, 1887).

³³ William P. Cutler and Julia P. Cutler, *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.* (Cincinnati, 1888), I:335-51.

them.”³⁴ So far had the western interpretation gone that frontiersmen were now given sole credit for the measure, leaving the East not one whit of glory!

This view, as distorted in one direction as the antislavery interpretation had been in another, could not stand long before the onslaught of the rising scientific school of American historiography. During the 1880's a legion of scholars, all trained in the stimulating atmosphere of German universities, reached the United States, bent on exploring the origin of their country's political institutions. Strongly influenced by the Darwinian concept of evolution, they rejected the belief that an ordinance such as that of 1787 could be framed *de novo* in less than a week, or that its unique features were traceable to any one individual. To these developmental-minded scholars the ideas embodied in the bill could be found rooted in the nation's past. Their diligent study led, for the first time, to an understanding of the relationship between the law of 1787 and the problems facing the pre-Revolutionary generation.

The pioneer who applied a scientific approach to the history of the Northwest Ordinance was Herbert Baxter Adams, Johns Hopkins University's great historian. Writing in the *Nation* early in 1882, he decried those who attributed authorship to Cutler just as much as those who claimed the glory for Nathan Dane. "The original idea of a compact grew," Adams wrote, "according to the principles of natural selection, from its Congressional environment," and the measure was drafted not by any one man "but by the concurrent wisdom of many men and by the unanimous vote of Congress." He believed that "the germ of this Magna Charta" was unity with the West, that this was a Jeffersonian idea, and that the Ordinance was not "a sudden creation, but a slow historic growth, the product of many minds and many interests working toward a common end."³⁵ John Fiske, in his important *Critical Period of Ameri-*

³⁴ Cutler, *Ordinance of July 13, 1787*, 3-4.

³⁵ *Nation*, Vol. XXXIV (May 4, 1882), 383-85.

can History, echoed the developmental thesis when he wrote: "It was simply the thirteen states, through their delegates in Congress, dealing with the unoccupied national domain as if it were the common land or folkland of a stupendous township."³⁶ And B. A. Hinsdale, in his study of *The Old Northwest*, was equally conscious of the evolutionary principle: "The imperishable principles of polity woven into the Ordinance of 1787 were the ripe fruit of many centuries of Anglo-Saxon civilization."³⁷

With historical thinking at this stage, there remained only the necessity of searching past records for the specific steps in the evolution of the Northwest Ordinance. Two scholars with widely differing interests used such a study to reach modern conclusions in the middle 1890's. One was Edward Channing of Harvard University, then beginning the stupendous task of rewriting the history of the United States from sources. He wrote:

The American people, for the first time in the history of mankind, voluntarily promised to those who should form colonies in these new territories, equal rights with the inhabitants living in the older states. This promise has been rigidly adhered to, and thus the United States has grown, not by forming colonies according to the usual meaning attached to the phrase, but by absorbing into the Union States formed on the national domain. This process has disguised the fact that during the last century the United States has been the greatest and most successful colonizing power in the world.³⁸

The second historian to recognize the true greatness of the Ordinance was Theodore Roosevelt, author of *The Winning of the West*. He concluded:

The adoption of the policy . . . has worked a complete revolution in the way of looking at new communities formed by colonization from

³⁶ John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (7th ed.; Boston, 1891), 207.

³⁷ B. A. Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest* (New York, 1888), 273.

³⁸ Edward Channing, *The United States of America, 1765-1865* (New York, 1896), 115.

This point of view was anticipated by Alexander Johnston who, after describing the evolution of self-government under the Ordinance, wrote: "The people of the United States had had such an unpleasant experience as colonists that they seemed to have learned to deal wisely and generously with their own colonies. The result has been that they had no such difficulties with their western colonists as Great Britain had with her American colonies." *History of the United States for Schools* (New York, 1885), 146.

the parent country. . . . The Ordinance of 1787 decreed that the new States should stand in every respect on an equal footing with the old; and yet should be individually bound together with them. This was something entirely new in the history of colonization.³⁹

The new concept was accepted rapidly; virtually all histories of the United States appearing at the turn of the century reduced the slavery clause of the Northwest Ordinance to its proper insignificant place, gave credit to the Ohio Company for influencing the Congress that formulated the act, and viewed the measure as a monumental development in liberal colonial administration.⁴⁰ Yet two steps remained before the Ordinance of 1787 could be viewed in a thoroughly modern light. One was to reveal hitherto-undisclosed western forces influencing its framers; the other, to show that the measure was not the utterly perfect law envisaged by earlier authors.

Frederick Jackson Turner, the historian of the American frontier, called attention to the western influences. In 1896 he pointed out that frontiersmen in the post-Revolutionary era were in open rebellion against eastern control. Wherever they lived—about the headwaters of the Ohio, along the tributaries of the upper Tennessee, on the “dark and bloody ground” of Kentucky — they insisted that they alone could solve their unique problems, and that only statehood would allow them to do so. Their tendency to form new illegal states helped convince Congress that unless the West was granted autonomy, through such a medium as the Ordinance of 1787, disunion would certainly follow.⁴¹ Thus Turner added another ingredi-

³⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (New York, 1889-1896), III:259-60.

⁴⁰ Among works reflecting the impact of the scientific point of view were: Wilbur F. Gordy, *A History of the United States for Schools* (New York, 1894), 188-89; Francis A. Walker, *The Making of the Nation* (New York, 1895), 39; Oscar H. Cooper, Harry F. Estill, and Leonard Lemmon, *History of Our Country* (Boston, 1896), 213-14; John B. McMaster, *A School History of the United States* (New York, 1897), 161-62; D. H. Montgomery, *The Student's American History* (Boston, 1897), 209-10; Allen C. Thomas, *A History of the United States* (Boston, 1897), 146; Francis N. Thorpe, *A History of the American People* (Chicago, 1901), 253-54; William H. Mace, *A School History of the American People* (Chicago, 1904), 204-05; Edwin E. Sparks, *The United States of America* (New York, 1904), 52-59; Andrew C. McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* (*The American Nation: A History*, X, New York, 1905), 121-22; and Roscoe L. Ashley, *American History for Use in Secondary Schools* (New York, 1907), 195-96.

⁴¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, “Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. I, nos. 1 & 2 (Oct., 1895, and Jan., 1896). The same subject was

ent to the formula from which the Northwest Ordinance was concocted; Old World practices, colonial precedents, the desire of prospective settlers for equality, and western pressure combined to give the nation a workable governmental system for its territories.

At the same time other scholars launched a three-fold attack to demonstrate that the Ordinance was honeycombed with the imperfections inevitable in any human document. One group, carefully analyzing the motives of the framers, revealed them as conservative easterners in rebellion against any system which gave the West too much power. Historians accomplished this by comparing the Ordinance of 1787 with earlier measures for western government, and particularly with Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784. Jefferson, they showed, would have carved the Old Northwest into ten states, each comparable in size to the states east of the Appalachians. Between 1784 and 1787 when pressure from the Ohio Company forced action, easterners grew alarmed at this division, fearful lest the "wild frontiersmen" outvote them in Congress. Their apprehension was expressed when they reduced the number of western states to five; a step that doomed pioneers to unwieldy governmental units.⁴²

Twentieth-century scholars also criticized the undemocratic features of the Northwest Ordinance, pointing out that, when compared with Jefferson's earlier measure, the act of 1787 marked a distinct step backward in man's struggle for self-government. Under the first, the settlers were allowed to rule themselves from the start; they chose their own legislature, named a delegate to Congress, and made their own laws, subject only to the nominal control of a congressionally appointed governor. Under the second, they were denied all control over

ess thoroughly explored in George H. Alden, "New Governments West of the Alleghanies [sic] Before 1780," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, II (Madison, 1897).

⁴² Jay A. Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787* (New York, 1901), 27-45; George H. Alden, "The Evolution of the American System of Forming and Admitting New States into the Union," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. XVIII (Nov., 1901), 469-79.

their own affairs in the first territorial stage, and even after they secured a legislature, their laws could be vetoed by a governor who represented the East. Even more indicative of the conservative spirit motivating the framers, historians pointed out, were aristocratic property qualifications which denied the ballot or political office to the poor. No man with less than fifty acres of land could vote, none with less than two hundred acres could serve in the territorial legislature, and none with less than a thousand acres could be named governor. These antiquated features, scholars saw, indicated that the Ordinance was framed by the conservative East rather than by the democratic West.⁴³

Also singled out for attack by modern scholarship was the process by which the Northwest Ordinance was enacted. Some among recent investigators have pointed out that its oft-gloried sections on slavery, religion, and personal liberty were never legally binding on the states of the Old Northwest. Edward Channing wrote in 1912:

Granting that Congress had power to establish governments in the western country, it surely had no authority to prohibit the dwellers in the States to be established therein from doing this, that, or the other. If the new States were to be on a footing of equality with the older States, they had a right to settle questions of labor, education, and religion for themselves.⁴⁴

Others showed that the Congress which enacted the measure took not only an illegal, but a fraudulent step. Their study of the machinations of the Scioto Associates revealed that a corrupt bargain between the Ohio Company and a group of speculative-minded government officials was responsible for both the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 and the subsequent land sale to Cutler's associates.⁴⁵

⁴³ Any modern history touching upon the Ordinance reflects this point of view. See Archer B. Hulbert, *The Records and Original Proceedings of the Ohio Company*, 2 v. (Marietta 1917).

⁴⁴ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1905-1906), III:547-48.

⁴⁵ The first study of the Scioto Associates was E. C. Dawes, "The Scioto Purchase in 1787," *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XXII (Dec., 1889), 470-82; but the relationship of

A century and a half of historical writing has completely reshaped American ideas concerning the Northwest Ordinance. Historians, blinded by the intellectual environment in which they lived, first viewed the document as unworthy of mention, then as a device notable for banning slavery from the West. Only when western scholars and scientifically trained researchers began their investigations at the close of the nineteenth century did the measure emerge in its true light: as the foundation for the most remarkable colonial system known to the world in 1787.

the company to the Ohio Company was pointed out in two articles by Archer B. Hulbert: "Andrew Craigie and the Scioto Associates," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s., LXIII (1913), 222-36; and "The Methods and Operations of the Scioto Group of Speculators," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. I (March, 1915), 502-15, and Vol. II (June, 1915), 5-73. A thorough modern account is in Joseph S. Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (Cambridge, 1917).

DESTRUCTION OF THE MORMON TEMPLE AT NAUVOO

BY JOSEPH EARL ARRINGTON

A little over one hundred years ago, the Mormon people began to settle in Illinois under the direction of their prophet, Joseph Smith. They purchased the little village of Commerce in Hancock County for their central location, and renamed it Nauvoo. The village soon became one of the large cities of the state, eventually reaching a population estimated at approximately 15,000. Here the new sect was engaged during half a dozen years in a temple-building project of exceptional magnitude.

This pretentious edifice, on an eminence overlooking the Mississippi River, attracted attention far and wide. The great Mormon Temple was painted by the artist John R. Smith and exhibited over the country as a part of his "Leviathan Panorama of the Mississippi River."¹ Many citizens of Illinois and other states visited this shrine in the wilderness. The imposing sight of the temple gave rise to mixed feelings, according to the viewpoint of the particular spectator. Was it a monument of glory or of folly? Whatever their feeling might be, however, the people continued to visit the Mormon city.

The Nauvoo temple remained in use only two and a half years after its dedication in April, 1846. During this short span of life it was almost destroyed several times. The first accident occurred before its dedication. At half-past three on the after-

¹ John R. Smith, *Descriptive Pamphlet of Smith's Leviathan Panorama of the Mississippi River!* (Philadelphia, 1848). To be found in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wis.

noon of Monday, February 9, 1846, a fire was reported in the temple roof. The Mormons at this time were starting their great exodus from Illinois to Utah. They heard the cry of "fire!" and saw many people running from the town. Willard Richards, one of the Nauvoo leaders, happened to be on the temple grounds. He took immediate command and ordered the people to form a bucket brigade. Inside the temple, a line of fire fighters passed water to the attic roof. Brigham Young saw the flames from a distance but was unable to get to the scene in time to help. He resigned himself to the calamity that seemed certain and declared, "If it is the will of the Lord that the Temple be burned instead of being defiled by the Gentiles, Amen to it!"²

Further confusion hindered the fire fighters' efforts when another alarm called the Saints to assist in the rescue of victims of an accident involving two river boats, but fortunately the bucket brigade remained at work and the flames were checked after half an hour. One of the fire fighters, Hosea Stout, estimated that a hole about twelve feet square was burned in the roof. Investigation showed that the fire had been caused by a red-hot stovepipe igniting some clothes that were drying in an attic room of the temple. A number of state troops were on the ground at the time of the excitement. Their commander, Major W. B. Warren, was on the Iowa side of the Mississippi. On February 12, 1846, he reported to Governor Thomas Ford: "Had it not been discovered, five minutes more and it [the temple] could not have been saved; the fire was in the roof, a large portion of which was destroyed."³

As soon as the fire was extinguished, the Saints gave way to a spontaneous demonstration of joy. Brigham Young came back from across the river and rushed to the building in time to hear the brethren give "a loud shout of Hosannah, while

² "History of Brigham Young" (MSS in library of the Latter Day Saints Church Historian's office, Salt Lake City, Utah), Feb. 9, 1846, p. 34.

³ *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], Feb. 20, 1846.

standing on the deck roof.”⁴ Soon the Nauvoo band climbed to the top of the roof and began to play to the crowds gathered below. After a short celebration the crowd was advised to disperse, and caretakers were admonished to be on guard in the future to prevent similar occurrences.

Two weeks after the fire, another near-tragedy occurred in the temple, this time at a public meeting of the faithful. A temporary floor had been built in the edifice four years before. At that time the temple was not even enclosed. Three years later, in the fall of 1845, this early timber work had been removed in order to lay down permanent flooring. The work had progressed rapidly during the winter, but was not finished. Some church members objected to congregating on floors in this condition. Others maintained that the floors were adequately strong. Disagreement on the question was still rife on Sunday, February 8, 1846, when Brigham Young conducted services in the grove to announce the beginning of the westward migration. However, it was very cold in the open air. On Sunday, February 22, snow lay a foot deep in the city. This was to be Brigham Young’s last day in Nauvoo. The grove seemed to be an impossible meeting place, so the people crowded into the temple. This extraordinary weight strained the floor and the timbers began to crack. The congregation rushed in panic for the doors and windows. Several were hurt. Brigham Young described the event by saying:

I attempted to call the assembly to order to explain the cause of the settling of the floor but failing to get their attention, I adjourned the meeting to the grove. I went below, examined the floor and found it had hardly settled to its designed position, passed on to the assembly in the grove where the snow was about a foot deep and told the people they might jump up and down as much as they liked.⁵

Later, on this same day, Brigham Young crossed the river and joined the forces already assembled on the Iowa side.

⁴ Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1932), VII:581.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 594.

As a matter of fact, not much damage was done to the floors, but the fixtures had been hurt. The large arched windows in the side walls were marred, and the front door, which had been the bottleneck of the rush, had been badly broken. Fortunately no lives were lost in the panic.

After the fire and the crash of the floor, both in February, 1846, the temple did not suffer any further damage for eight months. Then on September 6 (Sunday night) the steeple was struck by lightning. The damage was slight, but the anti-Mormons hailed the lightning as a judgment from Heaven. Other people in the neighborhood looked on the accident as a result of carelessness on the Saints' part—because they had failed to protect the building with lightning rods.

Fire, however, and not lightning, was the main danger feared for the temple. All during the summer of 1846, as the Mormons were moving away, they heard threats of incendiarism. In Nauvoo some of the Saints' homes had been burned. There was constant fear among the people that their temple would share the same fate. A rumor spread through Nauvoo that a certain day had been set by the anti-Mormons to "blow up the Mormon temple."⁶ The Nauvoo police took special measures to prevent this, and the anti-Mormons threatened a military invasion of the town. Probably open conflict was prevented by the fact that the Mormons were evacuating rapidly. Several efforts were made by the Mormon leaders, before they left, to sell the temple, but no buyer was found. People conceded generally that the temple would be torn down or burned unless it was sold.

In 1847, after the main exodus, it was apparent that some of the faithful had remained in Hancock County. This incensed the more rabid anti-Mormons, and their indignation increased when it was whispered that all the Mormons were planning to come back in force. The temple was the symbol of the Latter-Day Saints, and gentile fanatics feared that the

⁶ *St. Louis American*, June 12, 1846.

building might serve as a magnet to draw back the faithful. So, in 1848, when a number of Mormons who had gone to Utah did come back, threats to destroy the temple increased. The Saints were openly told not to preach in the old temple lest the building be burned or torn down stone by stone. With this state of mind existing, it is not surprising that the temple was eventually burned.

Early Monday morning, October 9, 1848, the catastrophe occurred—the Mormon Temple *was* destroyed by fire. The flames attracted a “wild, excited, panic-stricken crowd [which] came rushing to the temple grounds from every part of the city.”⁷ The news spread rapidly in all directions. Telegraphic dispatches which were sent from Nauvoo to St. Louis gave alarming news about “the Mormon temple in ruins,” and said

This magnificent temple was observed to be on fire in the cupola this morning about four o'clock. The flames spread rapidly, and the building was totally consumed, leaving nothing but the naked and blackened walls.⁸

The *Nauvoo Patriot* gave a vivid description of the fire. The editor said:

Our citizens were awakened by the alarm of fire which, when first discovered, was bursting out through the spire of the temple near the small door that opened from the east side to the roof on the main building. The fire was first seen about three o'clock in the morning and it had already taken such hold of the timber and roof that it was useless to make any effort to extinguish it. The materials of the inside were so dry and the fire spread so rapidly that a few minutes were sufficient to wrap the famed edifice in a sheet of flame.⁹

The *Keokuk Register* on October 12 stated “that on the morning of the 9th inst. the temple of the Mormons at Nauvoo was destroyed by fire.” From all reports to the editors “the fire presented a most sublime spectacle.”

[The flames which] shot up to the sky . . . threw a lurid glare into the surrounding darkness. Great volumes of smoke and flame burst from

⁷ *Nauvoo Rustler*, March 10, 1891.

⁸ *St. Louis Republican*, Oct. 10, 1848.

⁹ *Warsaw Signal*, Oct. 19, 1848. A reprint from the *Nauvoo Patriot*.

the windows and the crash of the falling timbers was distinctly heard on the opposite side of the river. The interior of the building was like a furnace, the walls of solid masonry were heated throughout and cracked by the intense heat. The melted zinc and lead was dropping from its huge blocks during the day. On Tuesday morning the walls were too hot to be touched.¹⁰

Alfred Sanders, editor of the *Davenport [Iowa] Gazette*, happened to be in Nauvoo on the day of the fire. He found the temple a heap of ruins. The walls were standing but were completely calcined and rendered useless. Even the mystical oxen with the baptismal font in the basement had shared the same fate.¹¹

The scattered remnant of the Mormons who remained in or near Nauvoo were overwhelmed by the calamity. It was a complete loss of past labors and hard-earned wealth. Some looked upon the scene in complete silence, others were seen crying and mourning the sad fate of their beloved temple.¹² Mormons who had left Nauvoo for the West were somewhat reconciled to the forced abandonment of their temple, but they had planned to sell it and the news of its total loss dismayed them. The severity of the shock to the Saints began to lessen after a decade or so spent in the Rocky Mountains. They began to look forward to a strong and prosperous Zion rather than backward to the dark days of the past. Brigham Young said he never again wanted to "see a temple built to go into the hands of the wicked," but "would rather see it burned than to go into the hands of the devils."¹³

Immediately after the temple was burned, on October 9, 1848, public opinion condemned the act as one of incendiary origin. The *Burlington Hawkeye* on October 10 had no doubt about the fire's being "the work of some nefarious incendiary." Two days later the editor felt the temple "should have stood for ages," and that "none but the most depraved heart could

¹⁰ *Keokuk Register*, Oct. 12, 1848.

¹¹ *Warsaw Signal*, Oct. 19, 1848; *Gospel Herald* [Voree, Wis.], Nov. 16, 1848.

¹² *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. LVII, no. 5 (May, 1922), 246.

¹³ *Nauvoo Rustler*, March 10, 1891.

have applied the torch to effect its destruction.”¹⁴ Similar convictions appeared in the *New York Weekly Tribune* of October 28, 1848, and in the *Oquawka Spectator* for October 11.

In contrast to some of the other editors, Thomas Gregg, in the *Warsaw Signal* of October 12, censured the builders of the temple and lauded its destruction as a benevolent act. He declared, “The four blackened walls of stone will stand a monument of the rise, progress and downfall of one of the boldest and most nefarious systems of imposture of modern times.”¹⁵

A demand to fix the responsibility for the destruction of the temple was made almost immediately. The *Keokuk Dispatch* of October 12, 1848, claimed:

The individual or individuals who planned this horrid outrage deserve to have the law in all its rigors enforced against them—aye, they deserve to have been confined within its walls while the conflagration was going on. . . . [We hope] that the incendiaries may be found out and punished . . . [but] the prospect is a slender one.¹⁶

The situation leading to the crime was common knowledge, but the apprehension of those responsible was a problem Nauvoo, with its few Mormons and the new citizens interested in defending their newly-purchased property, seized all suspects, and before the end of 1848 the community was sufficiently aroused to offer a substantial reward for the culprit in the following pronouncement:

We, the citizens of Nauvoo, feeling it our indispensable duty to ferret out the nefarious incendiary who fired and burned the temple in this place, bind ourselves, our heirs and administrators to pay the sum set opposite our respective names to the person or persons causing the said incendiary to be arrested and legally convicted of the above charge.

Forty-four representative citizens signed the announcement. The total reward amounted to approximately \$640. However, no results came from the offer.

¹⁴ *Burlington Hawkeye*, Oct. 12, 1848.

¹⁵ *Warsaw Signal*, Oct. 12, 1848.

¹⁶ *Keokuk Dispatch*, Oct. 12, 1848.

¹⁷ *Warsaw Signal*, Dec. 30, 1848.

The Mormons themselves had to bear their share of accusations for the incendiary act. Many people said that the disaffected Mormons who had divided the church into several small hostile factions harbored deep-seated feelings of resentment and revenge against the apostles of the church. On several occasions, leaders of estranged groups had returned to Nauvoo. At such times the faithful churchmen had guarded the temple with great care. The alienated groups, on the other hand, attempted to fix responsibility for the fire on loyal members. They claimed that the Saints, unable to make a sale, had burned the temple rather than let it fall into the hands of the gentiles.

The anti-Mormons, however, were most commonly accused of the crime from the beginning. The Mormons regarded this act as merely a new chapter of old horrors. New citizens of Nauvoo and the public generally agreed with this point of view. The anti-Mormon suspects zealously denied their guilt, and conclusive evidence for the identification of the incendiaries was difficult to obtain. The real answers to all these accusations remained in the realm of doubt. The editor of the *Keokuk Dispatch* discounted the prevalent charges against the anti-Mormons. As to who did it and "the true cause of its destruction," he felt all were "entirely ignorant and therefore can only speculate on probabilities."¹⁸

Thomas Gregg, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, on October 12, 1848, learned that when the fire was first discovered by the citizens a window was found open, evidence that an incendiary had entered the temple. Private suspicions were soon voiced against Joseph B. Agnew, and his name has remained prominently associated with the Nauvoo calamity ever since. A natural target for mistrust, Agnew was an ardent Mormon-hater who took active part in many of the violent activities which led to the expulsion of the Saints from Illinois. Public accusations and later alleged confessions point to him as the

¹⁸ *Keokuk Dispatch*, Oct. 12, 1848.

willing tool of the anti-Mormons in destroying the temple. However, no one produced sufficient evidence to bring him to court, and he remained free, though always under suspicion, until he died in 1870.

During the next half-century after the fire, information was added periodically that selected Agnew as the most likely suspect. The earliest accounts of his guilt come from Major L. C. Bidamon, husband of Joseph Smith's widow and proprietor of the Smith Mansion House in Nauvoo. He reported hearing the death-bed confession of a woman named Walker, who boarded at Joseph Agnew's near Dallas City, Illinois, at the time of the temple-burning. She told the proprietor of the hotel that there was something on her mind that distressed her, and then confessed:

The night the temple burned—that night after dark the two Agnew boys drove off as if they were going to Queens Mills, which was several miles northeast of Dallas. She watched them; they drove to the southeast corner of the farm and there unhitched and left the wagon and rode off on horseback. About as long thereafter as it would have taken to ride from the farm to Nauvoo, a light of the burning temple was seen.¹⁹

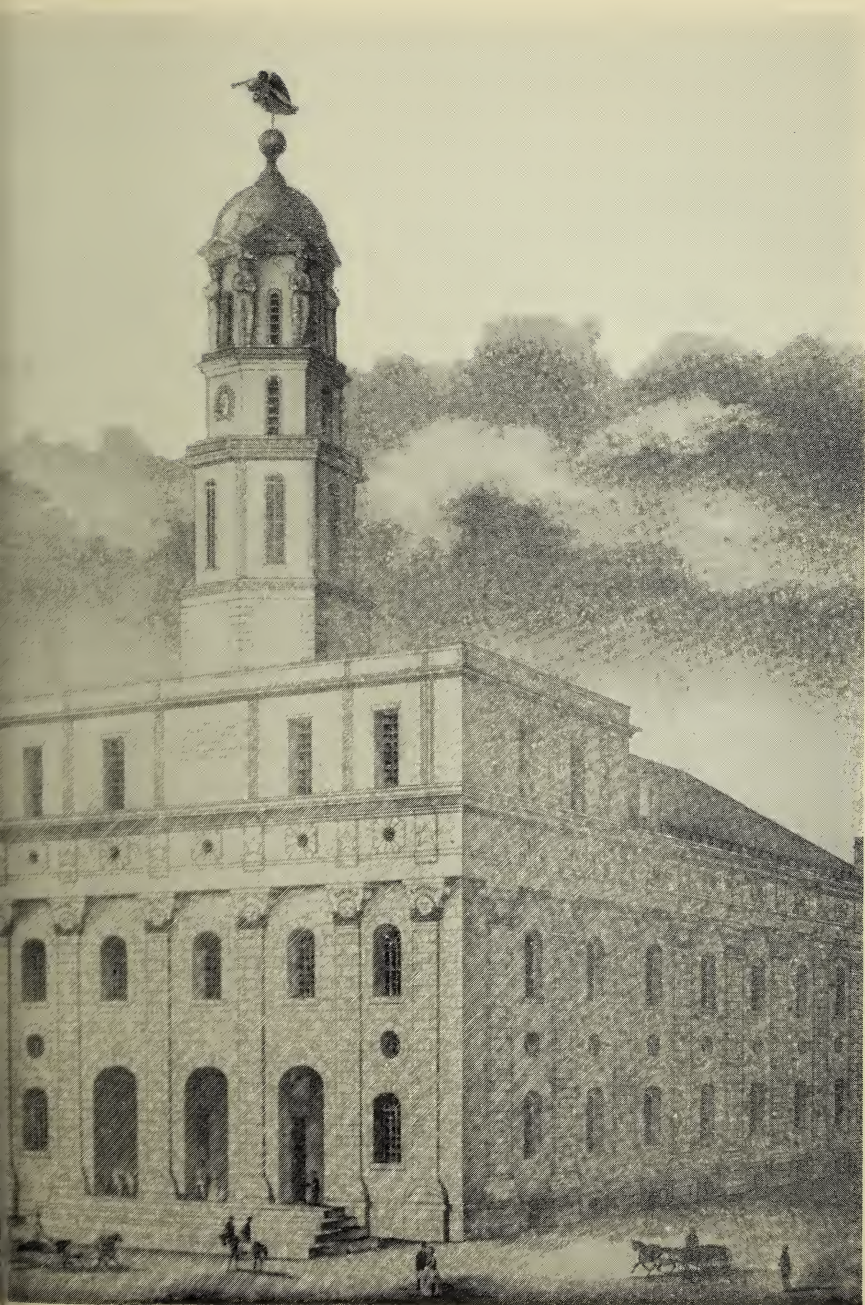
She sincerely believed the Agnew boys were the perpetrators. The woman passed away two hours after making these incriminating statements. Major Bidamon remembered and later reported her account, which was very nebulous and was never used in a case against either of the two men.

A second accusation against Joseph B. Agnew also came from L. C. Bidamon less than a decade after the event. On November 1, 1856, Major Bidamon stated to two Mormon visitors from Utah, George A. Smith and Erastus Snow:

The inhabitants of Warsaw, Carthage, Pontoosuc, and surrounding settlements in consequence of jealousy that Nauvoo would still retain its superior importance as a town and might induce the Mormons to return contributed a purse of \$500.00 which they gave to Joseph Agnew in consideration of his burning the temple and that said Agnew was the person who set the building on fire.²⁰

¹⁹ *Nauvoo Independent*, Aug. 15, 1890.

²⁰ "History of Brigham Young," Nov. 19, 1848, pp. 80-81.



MORMON TEMPLE AT NAUVOO



The Mormons were inclined to accept these accusations as authentic and indicated their approval by reprinting the information in their publications.²¹ Their suspicions seemed confirmed when after Agnew's death a series of confessions, alleging knowledge of Agnew's guilt, was published. One of these disclosures, made by a man from Dallas City, Illinois, home town of the suspect, was printed in the *Peoria Transcript* and quoted in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 18, 1872. It gave a detailed description of the crime, and stated definitely that "the temple was fired by Joseph B. Agnew, who recently died in Appanoose Township, Hancock County [Ill.] at the age of 58 years." Although there are several discrepancies and contradictions in the various "confessions," they do seem to identify Agnew as the incendiary.

However, there were other suspects. One of these was John W. Palmer, a former "Major in the anti-Mormon forces,"²² a man with a bad reputation among the general citizenry as well as the Mormons. Unlike the accusations against Agnew, those against Palmer were discredited and he is no longer associated with the burning of the temple. Other names mentioned as the probable incendiaries are very few and have not persisted in the literature or remained in the public mind to any great extent. On the other hand, the name of Joseph B. Agnew is still remembered with suspicion, although there was never sufficient evidence to bring him to trial. This is particularly true among the Mormons, to whom he remains a symbol of all the evils that beset them, including the burning of their temple.

The smoky walls of the Nauvoo temple were purchased in the spring of 1849 by the Icarians, a French communistic group which had come to America to build up a new society.²³ They had just set to work rebuilding the structure when they

²¹ *Millennial Star*, Vol. XXXVI, no. 21 (May 26, 1874), 332; also *Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, nos. 4-6 (June, 1889), 873.

²² *Warsaw Signal*, Nov. 14, 1846.

²³ *Ozaukee Spectator*, May 2, 1849.

were interrupted by the fall of the walls due to a violent wind-storm.

The storm burst forth so quickly and with such violence that the masons didn't have time to flee before the northern wall sixty feet high bent down over their heads threatening to crush them. . . . Their loss appeared to be certain for the southern and eastern walls, which had always been looked upon as the weakest, now shaken by the fall of the former, seemed on the point of tumbling on them. But the running rubbish of the northern wall stopped at their feet.²⁴

Immediately the workmen rushed out from the ruins enveloped in a cloud of dust, hail, rain, thunder and lightning, and a furious blast of wind. They expected every moment to hear the two walls give way upon them, but succeeded in getting out. Frightened at the dangers from which they had just emerged, they were astonished to see those walls still standing.

The storm had left two of the temple walls badly dislocated, but still standing—a serious problem for public safety. Community officials met on the same day and “acknowledged and declared that the southern and eastern walls would soon fall down and that to avoid any serious accident, it was better to destroy them.”²⁵

The final destruction of the walls had a great effect upon the new Icarian community in Nauvoo. It was considered a misfortune and a great inconvenience, as the Icarians were obliged to modify their former projects and plans. But they consoled themselves in a resolution to “begin again on the place of the temple, provisional and urgent construction that will serve until they build another large and fine edifice.”²⁶ The news of the destruction of the temple now became of international interest. Some of the French people followed the news about their nationals at Nauvoo. Etienne Cabet, prominent Icarian leader, wrote about the temple catastrophe in his native language for the information of Frenchmen in America

²⁴ *St. Joseph [Mo.] Adventure*, June 28, 1850.

²⁵ *Deseret News*, Aug. 24, 1850.

²⁶ *Ibid.*,

and France. This news soon reached newspapers and publications in France.

Among the Saints in the Rocky Mountains the final downfall of the Nauvoo temple produced only a mild reaction in comparison with their feelings after the fire. They felt sad over the final passing of their great handiwork, but Brigham Young consoled them by saying he "would rather it should thus be destroyed than remain in the hands of the wicked."²⁷

From such a narrative as this, one might expect the Nauvoo temple to be a thing of the dead past. This is not the case, however. These events were not merely facts about a physical building of stone and wood. They were vital experiences in the lives of many people, as builders, as oppositionists, and as makers of history. Increasing interest among the descendants of the builders of the temple and others concerned with these early events is converting this old Illinois town into a tourist center. Nauvoo will always remain an interesting historic spot.

²⁷ *Millennial Star*, Vol. XXV, no. 51 (Dec. 19, 1863), 802.

AN ILLINOIS EDUCATOR— FREDERICK GORDON BONSER

BY LOUELLA BONSER

EVEN before the last battle of the Revolution, many Americans living in the narrow areas along the Atlantic seaboard gathered up their families and pushed toward the great West. Reaching the crest of the Appalachians, they "swept down the mountains like a great tidal wave," into the territory later known as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

The wave of immigrants was temporarily kept out of most of what is now Shelby County by the barrier of a great bluff rising steeply on the west bank of the Okaw. This barrier was soon overcome, however, by the construction of a wooden bridge. By 1825, a town, which only a few years before had been an Indian trading post, was given the name Shelbyville and made the county seat of Shelby County. The crooked beaten paths of the buffalo had become the main thoroughfares, and settlers liked to recall the days when the primeval forest still echoed with the minor tones of Indian song and the whistle of an arrow as it flew on its deadly mission.

By 1832, however, the village was of sufficient importance to merit a visit by Martin Van Buren. He stayed at the Inn which afforded "two rooms and a chimney." Shelbyville grew fast. Settlers were coming into the community from the East by way of Vandalia over the government road. Many came by railway to Terre Haute, then by wagon the remaining distance. In 1854, an academy was built, the first brick structure in the village. Professor Charles W. Jerome arranged for programs

twice each year, consisting of music, debates, and orations.

In 1856, Abraham Lincoln debated the new political cause of Republicanism with Anthony Thornton before an audience of 900 in Shelbyville, and in the same year the Terre Haute and Alton Railroad (known today as the New York Central) and the Illinois Central were completed. The Terre Haute and Alton passed through Shelbyville and Pana to St. Louis, crossing the Illinois Central at right angles in Pana.

When this construction was finished, a little stagecoach town twelve miles southwest of Shelbyville, variously called Manyawper and West Minster, was picked up bodily, moved to the railroad and renamed Tower Hill because of the resemblance (so the story goes) of a nearby hill to a hill near London Tower. On a farm near this village, Frederick Gordon Bonser was destined to see the light of day nineteen years later.

The year 1856 also saw the building of Prairie Chapel near Tower Hill. This unplastered, frame building served as a house of worship when the circuit rider made his periodic stops, and as a five-month school for the children of the community.

With transportation facilities made easier by the completion of the two railroads, the county was rapidly being transformed from primitive forest and prairie into farms and settlements. The railroads were invaluable to pioneers. Dreams of possessing the new reapers and other farm machinery could at last be realized. In 1859 the county was organized into townships, one of which took the name Tower Hill.

In the year 1862, Aaron Bonser was among the pioneers who came into the community. A tall, broad-shouldered lad of sixteen, he came with his mother and stepfather to work on their farm near Shelbyville. When he reached the age of eighteen, Aaron enlisted in the Union army, serving from January, 1865, until mustered out in October, 1865. After he returned home, the family moved from near Shelbyville to a farm near Prairie Chapel. His stepfather had passed away in his absence,

and typhus took his two sisters a short while later. Aaron then bought land lying on both sides of the Terre Haute and Alton Railroad and built a small house of logs to which he and his mother moved.

A new school, which had been completed and named Mt. Victory in 1871, was less than one-half mile from Aaron Bonser's home. He, together with the grown young men and women who "had had no chance during the war," attended school, tuition-free, that first year. There he met Catherine Eliza Stevens, formerly of the province of Quebec, Canada, whom he married on August 6, 1874.

The young couple began housekeeping on the new farm. Their home was sheltered by a grove of tall oak trees, which constituted a part of the boundary between the forest to the south and the innumerable acres of prairie to the north. Wolves still found refuge in the tall grass, and prairie fowl could be heard before sunrise, "drumming up their brown soldiers to drill for the day." The northeastern horizon was broken by a series of hills, the "Massey Knobs," of which Tower Hill was a part.

In this isolated little home on the frontier, Frederick Gordon Bonser was born, June 14, 1875, the first of six children. His entry into the world was not marked by the presentation of glittering baubles. On the contrary, Fate, smiling deceptively, was waiting until his tiny hands should become strong; then she would put into them the heavy tools of the workaday world as a challenge: would he use them as stepping stones, or would they serve as millstones about his neck?

When the boy was two years of age the family moved one-half mile west into a small frame house which was a nucleus for a home to be built later. "Freddie" grew to be a bright and happy child in a family rich in affection, gentleness, honesty, and unceasing industry. His mother's rare character combined refinement, charity, and gentleness. His father, who was kind and generous and no "respector of persons," drilled him at an

early age in the pronunciation of words. When he finally succeeded in saying "Shelbyville," it caused so much merriment that he often repeated it.

Though Fred was alert and imbued with insatiable curiosity, he was not sent to school at the customary age of six, for he was small in stature, delicate, and very timid. When he did start, and his first day of school was over, he ran home full of glee, with a book under his arm, to tell his experience. For an hour each evening his father read aloud from Tennyson, Bryant, and others. Then, after the death of his grandmother up in Canada, Grandfather John Stevens came to live with the family. A man of wide experience, he entertained the growing boy with tales of the sea and of peoples in foreign lands.

This home help made his school work more vital. He soon ranked as one of the best students, and at the same time enjoyed outdoor games and church activities. Unusually methodical for a child, his little leather-bound trunk housed his playthings in orderly array. As he grew older, he seldom wasted a moment. During summer vacations, when the fields where he worked were far from home, he took a book and read during the lunch hour. At last his grammar-school years came to an end.

The final or "central examinations" for high school were held in March, not at school but under strange surroundings in town. On the fateful morning Freddie thumped downstairs and saw the ground white with snow. He stood by the kitchen stove and in a timid voice expressed doubt as to the wisdom of venturing out. However, it was not the walk in the snow he really feared, but the curious glances of strangers he would meet in the village. His mother, realizing the infinite importance of that first step, told him how her brothers had braved the frigid Canadian winters. While she helped him into his coat, his confidence returned. He came back that evening delighted over his hopes of passing.

The "last day" of school was an occasion for excitement

and joy, or perhaps tears. Great quantities of food were spread out on white cloths on the schoolhouse lawn. Pupils and their parents ate heartily. Then the children spoke their pieces and sang their songs. Next came the farewell to teacher. Fred's lips trembled at the parting words.

Fred had entered grade school later than other children and remoteness from a high school kept him away from secondary education much longer than would otherwise have been necessary. It was a happy day for him when he was invited to go to Avon, Illinois, to live with his aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Roberts, and attend high school there. Mrs. Roberts was his mother's sister, and Mr. Roberts was principal of the school.

At Avon, Fred found material and opportunity for study and experiment which Mt. Victory's limited facilities had made impossible. His power of concentration grew strong, and he determined to finish the course in two years. He made many friends and soon became a leader of his class in various school activities, but in summer he returned home to work on the farm.

Early in his senior year he organized the Philomathic Literary Society, of which he was elected president. Its activities consisted of debates, a mock trial, essays on general history, the reading of Homer's *Iliad*, which was abandoned in favor of old Greek stories, drama, mythology, biography, and poetry. He edited a newspaper called *The Philomathic Herald*—a humorous publication. To it he contributed poems and compositions, signed "J. Broadax," and in addition used his editorial capacity to rebuke, gently, classmates who appeared to be wasting time.

With all the work of his last school year crowding upon him, Fred arranged for and prepared a class day program, the first of its kind in the history of Avon High School, given May 24, 1895. With the motto, "Never do today what you can leave for tomorrow," the entire program was a burlesque upon the more serious exercises of the commencement to follow.

Fred composed the following song:

My geometry's under the ocean,
My geometry's under the sea,
My geometry's under the ocean,
Thank fortune my geometry's free.

Chorus.

Throw them, throw them,
Throw geometries into the sea, etc.

The fishes no more fill the ocean,
The fishes no more fill the sea,
The fishes no more fill the ocean,
For they tackled geometry, See!

The baccalaureate address was given on Sunday evening, May 26, by Professor W. O. Krohn of the University of Illinois. He had prepared an address entitled "The Pecuniary Value of Education," but after observing the work the graduating class had done he changed it to "Education is Life." The class had inspired Dr. Krohn, and his words also inspired the class—especially Fred, who lived to teach that schools must not be isolated from life. They must *be* life, a combination of essential studies with active participation in practical life.

The stage on which the class sat at commencement was unique. The audience looked at it through a great arch, above which appeared the class motto, "To thine own self be true." The floor of the stage presented the appearance of a park with fine sod and winding gravel walks. At one side was a large aquarium containing many beautiful fish. In the background an electric fountain played jets of water. Swings and rustic seats and fences helped to complete the illusion. To illustrate the thought that "life is a stage," whose actors are soon replaced by others, the class members were not all on the stage at once, except while singing the class songs and for the presentation of diplomas. Instead they dropped in by ones and twos, apparently by chance, and then left.

The paper that Fred delivered at the commencement exer-

cises was entitled "Compulsory Education." "The state," he said, "is the only power that can give education to all, and it therefore stands charged with the unavoidable duty of providing each and every individual with an efficient education, free, abundant, and complete."

After the commencement, the students scattered to their various homes. The morning Fred left Avon, he went to the schoolhouse and sat in the room where he had studied with his class. He walked about the grounds, living again the two years he had spent there, and then with a heavy heart and misty eyes he bade farewell to these beloved scenes. He returned home to help with cultivating and harvesting the crops. But he was resolved to go on to the University of Illinois.

Money was scarce and the family budget was not large enough to pay for tuition, board, and college equipment. Fred insisted that if his parents would allow him personally to make the selection of his clothes, there would be more money left for other expenses. They granted this request, and in September, 1895, he entered the University. He also attended school and lectures the following March at Bloomington, Indiana, where he was inspired by Dr. David Starr Jordan, the famous naturalist and teacher.

Fred returned to the University of Illinois in 1896 more enthusiastic than ever for an education, but his money was almost gone and he had to work part time as he studied. The following year he was forced to withdraw from the University at the beginning of the spring term. His health had broken under the strain, teaching him that too much work was false economy. Disappointed but determined, he took a job teaching in a country school at eighteen dollars a month. Evidently he had made up his mind as to what his life work was to be, for he said in a letter to a friend, "I should like to be a successful teacher; no nobler calling lies before us." For two and one-half months he drove twelve miles each day in a cart over a section of Shelby County clay hills in rain and sun to reach his

school. It was hard toil with little remuneration, but he looked to the future with hope.

At the close of the school year Fred Bonser went to the state of Washington to work in the wheat harvest until autumn. Then he taught a winter term in Union District, Walla Walla County, at a salary of forty dollars a month; and then a two-month spring term in a larger school at Valley Grove, with a salary of forty-five dollars a month.

He returned home in the fall in time to take up his work at the University of Illinois. Along with his studies he enjoyed the experience of coaching a young Swedish girl, Blenda Olson, who became a lifelong friend. She was graduated from Illinois, attended Columbia, and for years taught at the Western Illinois State Normal School at Macomb. During his vacation the following summer he lectured to a small group of young teachers at Tower Hill and worked as a salesman for a book concern.

When he returned to the University that fall, he specialized in pedagogy and psychology, graduating in 1901 with the Bachelor of Science degree. While studying for his Master's degree during the succeeding year, he held a fellowship in psychology and served as student assistant in the psychological laboratory. His first contribution to the educational literature of the day was entitled *A Statistical Study of Illinois High Schools*, published by the University.

His second contribution was an article on adolescent psychology called "Chums: A Study in Youthful Friendships," published in the *Pedagogical Seminary*. A third article, "The Relationship of Mental Activity and the Circulation of the Blood," was published in the *Psychological Review*. This last monograph was the result of a year's laboratory investigations, and its acceptance by the *Psychological Review* practically secured him not only a wide reputation for psychological discoveries, but also a position later as professor of education and director of the training school at the State Normal School,

Cheney, Washington. Before taking up his work there he married Edna Madison MacDonald, a Universalist minister at Urbana.

Immediately after arriving at Cheney, Bonser led a group of the faculty in preparing a novel curriculum for the training school—his initial contribution to curriculum making. Another innovation appeared in the form of a periodical, *The Normal Seminar*, which he edited with Harry M. Shafer. This magazine gave teachers a comprehensive view of the theory and practice of teaching methods, and summarized the progress elementary education had made through the research work conducted in the State Normal School's various departments. For the first number of the *Seminar* Professor Bonser wrote an article, "Practical Child Study for Teachers."

He returned to Cheney again the following year. Recognized for his contributions to the study of psychology, he was granted a fellowship at Columbia University, where he worked in educational psychology under the guidance of Professor E. L. Thorndike. He made an investigation of the reasoning ability of children of the fourth, fifth and sixth school grades. The reasoning test he developed was considered of great value and was later published as his dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia in 1910.

In the meantime Professor Bonser left Cheney, Washington, for a position in Western Illinois State Normal School (now Western Illinois State College) at Macomb. Here he led a new movement to reorganize elementary school curricula. In 1909 he was invited to accompany the National Civic Federation in an educational survey of the schools of England, and he and his wife took this opportunity to visit for a short time on the Continent. Back in America once more, Professor Bonser became chairman of a subcommittee of an international commission to investigate the teaching of mathematics below the sixth grade. In the spring of 1910 he was invited to head the

department of industrial education and become director of the Speyer School, an elementary school conducted by Teachers College, Columbia. He was awarded the Ph.D degree from Columbia the same year.

During the three years of his connection with the Speyer School, he led his associates in the making of a printed plan for the Speyer School curriculum. The need for this third contribution was real, as was proved by the fact that its sale continued for some years after the Speyer School was discontinued.

On December 1, 1924, Professor Bonser was appointed a member of the Philippine Educational Survey Commission. At Honolulu, several former students met the Bonsers and took them for a drive to places of interest. After leaving Honolulu, they visited Tokyo, Kobe, Yokohama, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. At Shanghai, they visited with the president of Nanking University, a student under Dr. Bonser in 1914.

The Bonsers arrived in Manila on January 12, 1925, and his work began at once. They traveled over two thousand miles in the smaller southern islands, going by night from island to island and visiting the schools in the daytime. When his work was finished, they left Manila on April 25, and returned home by way of the Middle East and Europe.

Later Dr. Bonser went to Totnes, England, and spent several months inspecting the schools there. He took part in surveys of schools in Cleveland, Denver, Asheville (North Carolina), Berea (Kentucky), St. Cloud (Minnesota), and Baltimore (Maryland). He was a member, in 1927, of the Virginia State Educational Survey Commission, and in 1929 of the New Jersey Educational Survey Staff. In addition, he lectured in many of the forty-eight states. He taught in the six-week summer school at Columbia and gained a large acquaintance with teachers who attended from almost every land.

Dr. Bonser believed that all past life—its science, industry, history, and art—constituted a storehouse whose rich contents had been but sparingly distributed to elementary grades.

If these treasures of the past were abundantly presented, he thought, dull routine would be replaced by eager interest and clear understanding. It is true that manual training had been introduced earlier into the elementary grades, but Dr. Bonser possessed a unique capability for demonstrating and putting manual training into practice in line with his revitalizing of the curriculum in connection with life of the past. It is in this respect that he was considered a pioneer in his particular field. Children were enabled to see the connection between public school work and life as lived each day. He said, "Education is making the obvious, the commonplace, more meaningful."

His work in the college was chiefly in practical arts and elementary education, although he gave some of the first courses in rural education, vocational education, and curriculum construction. He agreed with Franklin that "the world does not owe you a living;" but, said Dr. Bonser, "you can make the world owe you a living," and "the world is willing to pay well for services given by one who has proven his ability and takes pride in his work and finds joy in doing it."

"Think! Think!" he so often advised. He compelled his students to think. He gave them the initiative in the discussion of their problems. Listening intently, he would reply somewhat interrogatively, and they were forced to think more deeply, with the result that they were able to find their own solutions to problems.

He had practiced the advice he gave others. He had put all of himself into what he had undertaken. Although in his early years he was willing to accept much less than he earned, he had now reached the place where his salary was more than enough to represent deferred payments on the low remuneration of previous years.

However busy he might be, few summers passed that he did not visit in his parents' home. The familiar scenes of his native state gave him great pleasure. While there, he was supposed to relax, but rest for Professor Bonser came only by a

change of work. Yet his life was one long vacation, because he dearly loved his work. During these visits he told his parents, with his usual shy smile and low voice, about the new honors he was receiving. Always he credited their sacrifices for his success. They in turn reminded him of his first day in school when he had run gleefully home to relate the wonders of the new world he had discovered.

His father died in August, 1924. In September, 1930, as Professor Bonser packed his clothes for a sabbatical year he hoped to spend in India, he received word that his mother had suffered a stroke. The trip abroad was cancelled at once. His mother soon recovered, but in February he himself became critically ill. He passed away on June 8, 1931, and now rests in the cemetery at Pompton Lakes, New Jersey, near the summer home he built there. Dr. Bonser died at the early age of fifty-six, but his years were filled with the labor of love of children everywhere.

A builder, his integrity of purpose was obvious to all who knew him. He was an idealist, who sought for perfection, and those who came under his influence felt the deep power he possessed to stir their spiritual nature, though he was also practical in his philosophy.

In the foregoing brief account of the incidents in the life of Frederick Gordon Bonser, the author has written only a few of the incidents that she personally remembers, or learned from him. His problems were only those of other country boys and girls in that day. But his life work does illustrate that will power, patience, and industry are keys that open the gates to paths leading onward and upward to any height one *wills* to go.

A formal biography, with reference to his character as a man, the value and scope of his service to education, with a bibliography of his writings and lectures, might be written by someone who is familiar with and capable of evaluating his academic work. He was a member of the National Education

Association, Kappa Delta Pi, Phi Delta Kappa, and the National Society for the Study of Education. At the time of his death he was chairman of a committee which was preparing a yearbook for the last-named society.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

AN ACCOUNT OF MONSIEUR DE LA SALLE'S LAST EXPEDITION AND DISCOVERIES IN NORTH AMERICA. By Chevalier Tonti. London, 1698.

With this volume the Illinois Bookshelf will be discontinued. Since the March issue of 1945, twelve books have been described for it. Of all the books, this is the oldest. Printed in French in 1697 and in English in 1698, both volumes may be found in the Illinois State Historical Library, yet they are recognized to be frauds, forgeries, not the writings of Henri de Tonti. Knowing the spurious nature of the publications, the opening words are amusing:

Truth and Sincerity being the chief Qualities, which make a Book of this nature Valuable, the Author of this promises himself upon that account a favourable Reception from the Publick: and therefore thinks it would be superfluous to make a longer Preface:

Monsieur Cavelier de La Salle, a Native of Roan [Rouen] in Normandy, the chief Undertaker of the Discoveries in the Northern America, which make the Subject-Matter of this Book, was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and undaunted Courage. He was the first that formed the Design of Travelling from the Lake of Frontenac in Canada, to the Gulph of Mexico, through a vast unknown Country, in order to bring the Inhabitants to the Knowledge of the Christian Religion, and Extend the Dominions of the King of France. This Gentleman having duly weighed all the Difficulties that were like to cross so Noble a Design, came to Court to acquaint his Majesty with it, who was pleased not only to approve his Enterprize, but also to Encourage it, by the Liberal Assistance, and the Power he gave to M. La Salle, to dispose of his New Discoveries as he should think fit.

With this beginning, the author, who alleged that he was Tonti himself, continued:

I was then at the Court of France to solicit some Employment, having served his Majesty both by Sea and Land, and lost one Hand in Sicily by a Granado, and as M. La Salle was upon his departure, the Prince of Conti was pleased to recommend me to him, as fit to accompany him in his Undertaking, whereupon I was easily admitted, the Patronage of His Highness having been very useful to M. La Salle. Everything being ready for our departure, we set sail from Rochel, [La Rochelle] July 14, 1678, to

the number of 30 Men, amongst whom were Pilots, Carpenters, Smiths and other useful Artists, and arrived at *Quebec* upon the 15th of *September* following; we remained there some days, after which having taken our Leave of Count *Frontenac* Governor-General of *Canada*, we sailed up the River *St. Laurence* to Fort *Frontenac*, where we landed.

A forgery somewhat similar to this one was perpetrated with the Lewis and Clark journals. The transcontinental explorers were slow in preparing their journal for the printer after their return from the Pacific in 1806, in fact did not publish it until 1814. In the meantime, a spurious "journal" appeared in 1809, obviously made up from the account of one of the soldiers, notes from trappers and various news items. So, too, the author of this Tonti book certainly knew the general story of La Salle's achievements in America. He seems to have written them down for popular consumption instead of historical accuracy. In short, the book was a "pulpy" of its day, and copies today sell from \$40 to \$200. An example of the misinformation in this volume appears in the quotation below. Specialists maintain that old Fort Crèvecoeur near where Peoria would one day stand, was named for a citadel in the Netherlands which had been captured by Louis XIV's forces in 1672. Tonti had taken part in this battle. The use of the name in Illinois, then, seems to have been for the purpose of encouraging dispirited Frenchmen. La Salle was not the kind of man to admit publicly that his own heart might be broken. Here is the way the spurious author told the story:

M. *La Salle* being sensible of the strength of this [the Illinois] Nation, thought that nothing was to be neglected to keep them in amity with us; but at the same time that it was necessary to provide our selves against their Inconstancy. Therefore he ordered a Fort to be built upon a rising ground near the River, which was in a little time in a posture of defence. However he was in great pain for his Bark, [the ill-fated *Griffon*] which he had sent back from the Bay of *Puans* to *Niagara*, of which he had no manner of News. This, together with the malice of some of our Men, made him so melancholy, that the Paleness of his Face betrayed the grief of his Heart; but as he was very Couragious, he concealed it as well as possible, contenting himself to manifest it by the Name of *Crevecoeur* (breaking Heart) which he gave to his Fort.

Considering the fact that this was written in French in 1697 it is not surprising that some historians believed that La Salle did name the fort for his own breaking heart. However, it should be remembered that twenty-five years had passed since the capture of the Netherlands fortress, and the scribe who hoped to make a few *louis d'or* let his imagination have full play. John Gilmary Shea, in his study of early French exploration, has pointed out that in the translation of this work in Holland, where

the destruction of Crèvecoeur might be offensive, this story is omitted. An example of the way the writer used his imagination to create suspense, intrigue, and crisis to catch the fancy of his reader, appears in the following quotation:

We had however hitherto no great cause of Complaint; we had happily carried on our Discovery to 500 Leagues beyond Fort *Frontenac*, and made several Forts for the Communication and Security of our Settlements. Most of the Savages were entred into our Alliance, and the fiercest among them, had not so much as offer'd to stop our Progress, so that we found no Enemies but our selves, and our own Divisions, which proved at last a fatal source of great Misfortunes and Miseries.

Most of our Men being discouraged by a long and tedious Voyage, the end whereof they could not see, and weary of a wandring Life in Forests and Desarts, where they had no other Company but Brutes, and Savages, without any Guide, Carriage, and Provisions could not forbear murmuring against the Author of so tiresome and perillous an Enterprise. M. *La Salle*, whose penetration was extraordinary, discover'd immediately their dissatisfaction, and try'd all possible means to prevent the consequences thereof. The glory of the Enterprise, the example of the *Spaniards*, the hopes of a great Booty, and every thing else that may engage Men, we made use of to incourage them, and inspire them with better Sentiments; but these Exhortations, like Oil poured upon Fire, served only to increase their dissatisfaction. What said they? must we always be Slaves to his *Caprichio's*, and be continually bubbl'd by his Visions, and foolish Expectations? and must the Fatigues we have hitherto undergone be used as an Argument to oblige us to go through more Perils, to gratifie the Ambition or Folly of a merciless Man, who upon fair pretences has transplanted us into this new World amongst Brutes. We are very far from our Country, without Provisions or any other help; but our case shall be ten times worse, if we follow the wandring Inclinations of a Man, who is resolved to go to the further end of the World. He has made himself Rich by our Perils, and to our own loss; what then have we to do, but to put a stop, by his Death, to our further Miseries, and take possession of what he has gained by our Fatigues? These were the Arguments these Villains used to incourage themselves to the horrid Crime they had resolved upon; but having upon second thoughts, considered the consequences of their violent Designs, they thought it would be more safe to incite the *Illinois* against him, that he might perish by their Hands.

The spurious chronicler played up this intrigue in melodramatic style. The Frenchmen are reported to have told the Indians that La Salle was in league with the Iroquois; that he had come as a spy to learn their condition and planned to attack them later. The romantic writer continued:

'Tis very easie to guess what impression such a Discovery wrought upon a Weak and Credulous People, who believed without any further Inquiry, whatever our Villains had told them. They broke off immedi-

ately their Society with us, and lookt upon us, but chiefly upon our Chief, as their greatest Enemies, and resolved upon our Ruin. M. *La Salle* suspected the cause of their Mistrust, and was sensible of the danger he was exposed to, but did not know from whence it came. His great Courage was not however cast down, and trusting to his good Conscience, went boldly to the Chief of the Savages, and told them, That he observed such an alteration in their proceedings with him, that he could not but be concerned at it; and therefore desire'd them to tell him the Motives of their Mistrust, and to consider whether they were well grounded, or only an Artifice of their common Enemies, who were jealous of the good Correspondence that was between them.

All students are familiar with *La Salle's* difficulties with his men, difficulties that caused his assassination ten years before this book appeared in French. The quotation below may be true to the spirit of the relation between *La Salle* and some of his men, but it sounds very much like seventeenth-century sensational writing.

His Treacherous Men plotted to put a stop both to his Journey and to his Life, and to poison him and his best Friends at once. They pitched upon *Christmas-day* for acting this Villainy, and found means to put some Poison into the Pot, to cut off at one blow, all such as might have avenged the Death of their Captain, and likewise to remain the sole Masters of the Fort, and of all the Effects that were therein.

The Dinner was hardly over, that M. *La Salle* and his Friends found themselves very ill. They fell into Convulsions and other Symptoms, which discover'd the true cause of them; whereupon they took a Dose of good Treacle, and by this quick remedy, prevented the effect of the Poison, insomuch that all recover'd.

This was too plain to be denied, and too horrid to be forgiven, therefore the Rogues ran away to avoid the just punishment they deserv'd; and tho' M. *La Salle* sent after them, it was not possible to overtake them, the thick Forests affording them a fair opportunity to make their escape. The desertion of these Villains weaken'd our Band, but we were soon recruited by several young Savages, who engag'd themselves into our Service, and likewise by some *French* Men who were dispers'd and wandering in the Woods, so that our number was in a little time considerably increased.

Perhaps the most imaginative thing in the whole book, is the author's description of the social behavior of beavers. A modern zoologist would certainly object to some of the performances of the beaver described in this book—especially the manner in which these industrious animals announce incapacity for work. The full account is as follows:

The Beavers are, as every body knows, Amphibious Creatures, who cannot live without Air, Water, and Land. They are near as big as Sheep, but not so tall, their legs being very short, but so nimble, that they come nothing short of Apes for dexterity. They have a Muzzle or Nose, and

strong Teeth; their Body is covered with thick Hair, and pretty fine, but their Tail is made up of a kind of twisted Hair, which forms a figure like that of a Triangle, and serves them as a Trowel to beat the soft Earth they make use of to build their Habitations.

The Instinct or Industry of those Creatures is almost incredible, and therefore I am sensible that many will question the Truth of what I have to say about it, however, I may assure the Reader that I do not Romance in the least. When they have a mind to make a new Settlement or Habitation, and have found a proper place for it, which is commonly in the Channel of a River, provided it be not too deep, or too broad, they look for a Tree on the Bank of the said River, leaning a little towards the Water. They meet together in a Circle, and because their number is always odd, it seems that they hold a Council, to know what is fit to be done. The first thing to be done, is to cut down the Tree they have pitched upon, but not horizontally, but in such a manner that it may fall into the very place they have a mind to, that is cross the River, to stop, or at least to abate the Rapidity of the stream. If the Branches hinder the body of the Tree to lye in the Water, they cut them likewise, and then make a perfect Dike or Bank with Mud and Gravel together, leaving now and then some places open for the Water, lest the River should overflow their Bank. If the Tree cannot reach the other Shore, they fell another Tree over against it to join that, and make a perfect Causey or Bridge. This Work being compleated, they build their Habitations or Caves near that place, and employ nothing but mud in the following manner; they lay a Lay of it, and beat it very hard with their Tails, and then another, and so on successively, 'till it is about three Foot high; they Arch it and Polish it very handsomly, and divide it into three several Apartments, which have communication one with the other; one of them is to lie in, the second for their Provisions, and the third serves them for a necessary House. They make a Canal or subterranean Aqueduct from the River to one of their Apartments, in which they have a kind of Pond, wherein they hold their Tail, for otherwise they could not live. This Canal serves also for another use, for when they hear any noise, they make their escape through that place into the River. Every one is obliged to work, but if any one has his Tail excoriated or otherwise hurt, he lays it flat upon his back, to shew that he is unable to work.

HISTORICAL NOTES

A NEW PORTRAIT OF LINCOLN

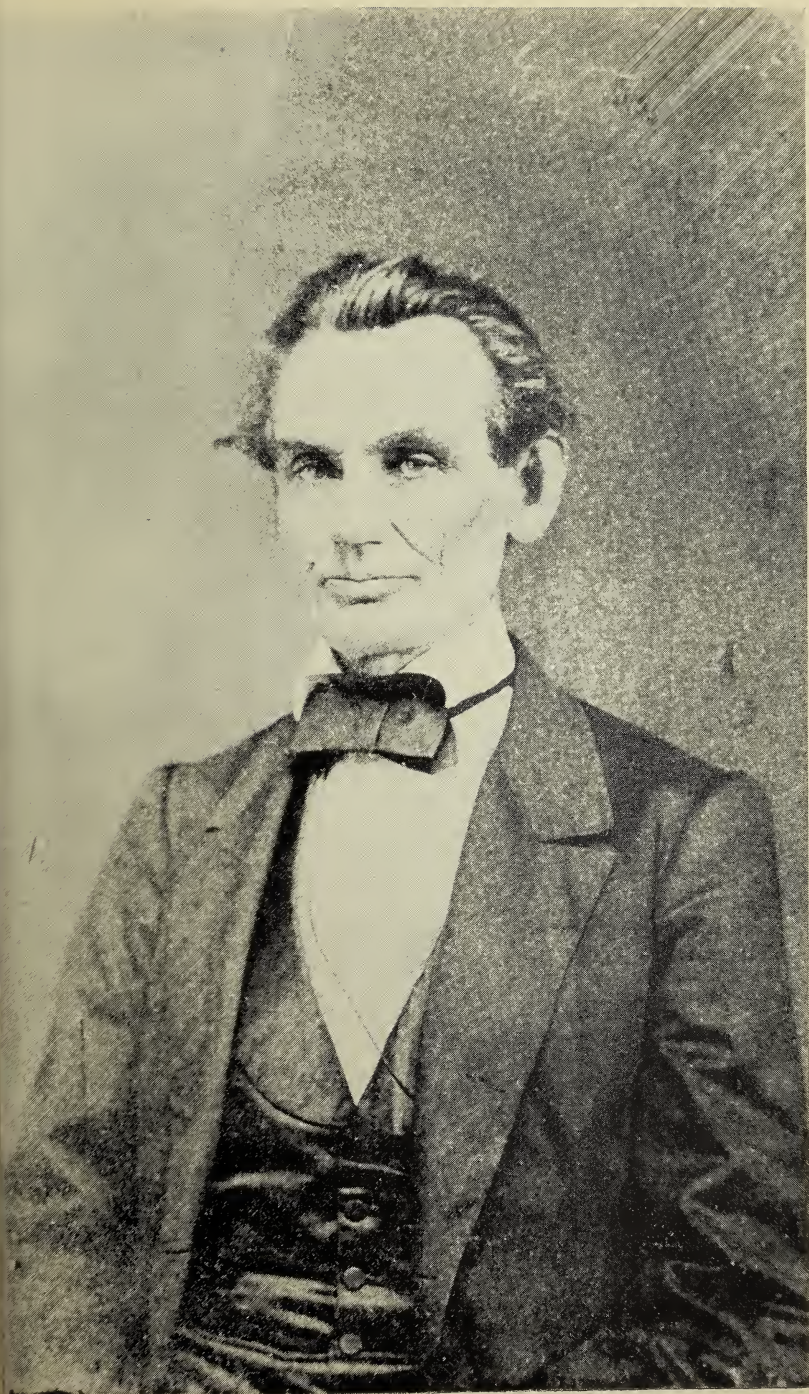
A new picture of Abraham Lincoln has been presented to the Decatur Public Library by Miss Grace Barnwell, a retired primary school teacher at Lincoln, Illinois. Miss Barnwell was a daughter of E. A. Barnwell, a Decatur photographer in 1860 when Lincoln was nominated for President by the Illinois Republican Convention. There are more than a hundred known pictures of Abraham Lincoln, but new ones always elicit a great deal of interest. The Barnwell picture is the second new one to be discovered this year. The other one was reported in the *Saturday Evening Post* for July 19, 1947, by its discoverer, Stefan Lorant.

LINCOLN AND THE JEFFERSON PLAYERS

Has another Lincoln myth been exploded? Since the appearance of Jefferson's *Autobiography* in 1890, the story has persisted that during the engagement of the McKenzie-Jefferson Theatrical Company in Springfield in 1839-40, Lincoln was instrumental in removing the exorbitant license fee imposed upon the players. Joseph Jefferson, aged ten, was a member of the company. Did he, in his *Autobiography*, give credit to Lincoln merely to make a "good story"? Jefferson said:

In the midst of our rising fortunes a heavy blow fell upon us. A religious revival was in progress at the time, and the fathers of the church not only launched forth against us in their sermons, but by some political manoeuver got the city to pass a new law enjoining a heavy license against our "unholy" calling; I forget the amount, but it was large enough to be prohibitory. Here was a terrible condition of affairs: all our available funds invested, the legislature in session, the town full of people, and we by a heavy license denied the privilege of opening the new theater!

In the midst of their trouble a young lawyer called on the managers. He had heard of the injustice, and offered, if they would place the matter in his hands, to have the license taken off, declaring that he only desired to see fair play, and he would accept no fee whether he failed or succeeded. The case was brought up before the council. The young lawyer began his harangue. He handled the subject with tact, skill, and humor, tracing the history of the drama from the time when Thespis acted in a cart to



A NEW LINCOLN PICTURE

the stage of today. He illustrated his speech with a number of anecdotes, and kept the council in a roar of laughter; his good-humor prevailed, and the exorbitant tax was taken off.

This young lawyer was very popular in Springfield, and was honored and beloved by all who knew him, and after the time of which I write he held rather an important position in the Government of the United States. He now lies buried near Springfield, under a monument commemorating his greatness and his virtues—and his name was Abraham Lincoln!¹

This challenging statement deserves investigation. What are the facts? On June 21, 1839, the *Sangamo Journal* stated that the Illinois Theatrical Company, under the direction of Mr. A. McKenzie, would be in Springfield by July 4 when the town became officially the state capital. The newspaper stated further that "a commodious building is now being erected by Mr. Langford for the use of the company."

At this time Lincoln was a member of the town's Board of Trustees, having been appointed on June 24, to succeed Samuel H. Treat. The following entry appears in the "Journal of the Town of Springfield:"

July 23, 1839 Present—P. C. Canedy, P. C. Latham, J. Kleine. Mr. Canedy was chosen president pro tem.

Mr. Kleine offered a Resolution, that the license for the theatre per night, shall be three dollars,—commencing with Monday night of last week, which was agreed to.

From this it must be assumed that Lincoln was not present at this meeting on July 23.

Late in the fall, the *Sangamo Journal*, for November 29, mentioned that "Messrs. McKenzie and Jefferson's Company, now here, will remain during the ensuing session of the Legislature. . . . The performances will be held, for the present, in Mr. Watson's saloon—a new building recently erected by him on the north side of the public square." A plea by "A Stranger" to the editor of the *Sangamo Journal*, on December 6, expressed the desire that such clean amusement as the theatrical troupe was presenting should be continued for the benefit of the community. This was, no doubt, a protest to the religious critics of the theatre and to the heavy fee levied upon the players.

It was not, however, until late January that action was taken by the city fathers. Quoting from their "Journal:"

Jan. 31, 1840. Present—P. C. Canedy, J. Kleine, J. Whitney, P. C. Latham.

¹ *The Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson* (New York, 1890), 29-30.

A petition from sundry citizens of Springfield now presented by W. W. Watson, for the purpose of reducing the tax on the theatrical performances now exhibiting in this town.

On motion of Mr. Whitney—

Resolved, that, Provided three dollars is paid for each night's performance to this time; that for this and the coming week no further sum shall be required for liberty to exhibit.

Again Lincoln was not present. Since the legislative session ended February 3, the McKenzie-Jefferson Company benefited only one week from the reduction of the fee.

In a few instances, the minutes of the Board of Trustees were not entered in the "Journal" in strictly chronological order, and one suspects that at least some of the proceedings were written down at the meetings but recorded at a later date. Since Lincoln was not present at the Board meetings when the franchise was imposed or when it was removed, would it not seem logical to conclude that he did not plead in behalf of the players as Jefferson would have us believe? Furthermore, it is doubtful that Lincoln's knowledge of the theatre was as broad as Jefferson states. No history of the theatre is listed among the books read by Lincoln.

Joseph Jefferson's imagination in later years may have served him better than his memory. Let his words bear witness that "Many of the conversations and incidents are traditional in my family; I have good reason to take them for granted, and I must ask the reader to share my confidence."²

Since there is no evidence to the contrary, would it not seem that Jefferson's love of a "good story" prompted the famous incident of the Jefferson players?

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

RUTH HARDIN.

NEW SALEM SCHOOL AND THE HARD-SHELL CHURCH

Several years before John M. Camron in 1828 entered the tract of land containing the high bluff where the town of New Salem was built, a settlement was made to the west and southwest of it known as the "Greene neighborhood." Here William G. Greene, Sr., had entered land and built a home.

Not long afterward, Mentor Graham, the pioneer schoolteacher and a relative of Greene's wife, came from Kentucky and built a "Hard-shell" church at the bottom of an incline north of Greene's Rocky Branch and very near it, facing a road on the west. Graham had killed two birds

² *Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson*, 23.

with one stone when the Greenses permitted him to build the log church which he could also use for teaching tuition students. He taught pupils here "off and on" for more than ten years after the town of New Salem had vanished.

A few rods north of the church on the level ground lay the Greene graveyard, where burials of both the Greene and Graham families and their relatives were made. A white marble monument with the name, "Sarah Graham, wife of Mentor Graham," stood in this old graveyard until most of the remains had been moved away.

Further north on a line with the church and burial ground Mentor Graham settled and built a brick house, where he lived until the early 1870's.

It was the Calvinist creed of the "Hard-shell" church that gave it the name, by which it became generally known, to distinguish it from the United (Regular) Baptist Church that stood five miles southwest at Clary's Grove. The official name was the Primitive Baptist.

The old log church disappeared about the time the present Salem School District was formed. There is ample proof that part of its building materials were used in constructing the large dining room of the Neff house which is still standing about two miles northwest of the old site.

The New Salem schoolhouse stood about a mile northeast from the church. The building faced east, according to Judge M. B. Harrison, who was interviewed by the writer. This fact was omitted in the description given R. D. Miller for his *History of Menard County*. Judge Harrison, who lived directly south of New Salem, was never in the village, according to a statement made to the author, but he did attend his first term of school in the New Salem schoolhouse which stood on another hill, really outside the Camron survey. Years later Lincoln appointed him a collector of internal revenue.

During the evolution of the school district in Illinois, a brick schoolhouse, where Mentor Graham sometimes taught as late as 1867, was built beside the Greene graveyard.

It was not until 1868 that the present Salem School District was formed. Two schoolhouses have been built in this district, the first having been destroyed by fire. Graham never taught in either of these buildings.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

THE PIONEER DOCTOR

When a doctor was called to see a patient the first thing he did was to examine his tongue, then feel of the pulse at the wrist; then he would have the sick one set [*sic*] up in a chair to be bled. The sleeve of one arm would be rolled up to the shoulder, and the arm extended out to full length and the hand grasped around the handle of a broom-stick to hold the arm steady and in proper position. A cord would then be tied tightly around the arm half way between the elbow and shoulder, and then the patient was stabbed in a blood vessel of the arm. At first, a thumb-lance was used, but the spring-lance came in as a great improvement. They usually took from a pint to a quart of blood, dependent upon the age and size of the sick one. After the bleeding the patient would be given an emetic, and after he had been thoroughly vomited, he would be given a dose of calomel and jalop, and then a walloping dose of castor oil. After all those horrors the patient would be taken through a course of blistering. A blister 6x10 inches would be placed upon the breast, with smaller ones on the arms and legs; if the patient was very sick a portion of the hair would be shaved off the head and one of those horrible blisters applied to the head.

The doctors made their own blister-plasters. They carried in their medicine bags a package of Spanish flies, a small cake of tallow and some pieces of canvas. The tallow would be carefully spread over the canvas, the Spanish flies sprinkled over it and pulverized with a caseknife. These flies were large and yellow, resembling yellow wasps. The plasters would be left on from six to eight hours, causing terrible pain. They would then be removed and the blister dressed with cabbage leaves, or a bit of tallowed muslin. Sometimes the blisters would be drawn so deep that it would be two weeks before they would heal; and during the time a white substance would appear in the wound which was called "proud flesh," and it was removed by sprinkling over it powdered roasted alum, this also causing great agony.

One marvelous thing the common people could not understand was that after the patient had gone through with all this bleeding, vomiting, purging and blistering and been reduced to the very last extremity, he

was not allowed by the doctor to take any nourishing food—nothing better than a little thin gruel, a little chicken broth, or a little toast and tea; and while the poor creature, tortured with a burning thirst, might be screaming for water, he was not allowed to have one cool drop, but might have a little warm tea or slippery-elm tea water.

If under this treatment the patient was fortunate enough to get well, the doctor would claim for himself a vast amount of credit for his skill that brought him from the verge of the grave; but if the poor creature died, it was laid to the decree of Providence.

HARVEY LEE ROSS, *The Early Pioneers and Pioneer Events of the State of Illinois* (1899), 81-83.

REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL TO SPRINGFIELD

At that session (I mean 1836 and '7), the question came up as to the removal of the seat of government from Vandalia to Springfield. Springfield had nine members. They were called the "long nine," for there was not one of them who was not over six feet high. The seat of government was removed, by law, to Springfield, and it has been hinted that the "nine" traded a little to accomplish this result, but I vouch for nothing of the kind.

At the call-session in the summer of 1837, of which body I was not then a member, General Lee D. Ewing had been elected to fill some vacancy which had occurred, for the express purpose of repealing the law removing the seat of government to Springfield. I should have said that he was the representative from Fayette county, of which Vandalia is the county seat.

General Ewing at that time was a man of considerable notoriety, popularity and talents. He had been a senator in Congress from Illinois, and had filled various State offices in his time. He was a man of elegant manners, great personal courage, and would grace either the saloons of fashion or the Senate chamber at Washington.

The Legislature opened its special session (I was there as a spectator), and General Ewing sounded the tocsin of war. He said that "the arrogance of Springfield—its presumption in claiming the seat of government—was not to be endured; that the law had been passed by chicanery and trickery; that the Springfield delegation had sold out to the internal improvement men, and had promised their support to every measure that would gain them a vote to the law removing the seat of government." He said many other things cutting and sarcastic. Lincoln was chosen by

his colleagues as their champion, to reply to him; and I want to say here that this was the first time that I began to conceive a very high opinion of the talents and personal courage of Abraham Lincoln. He retorted upon Ewing with great severity; denouncing his insinuations imputing corruption to him and his colleagues, and paying back with usury all that Ewing had said, when everybody thought and believed that he was digging his own grave; for it was known that Ewing would not quietly pocket any insinuations that would degrade him personally.

I recollect his reply to Lincoln well. After addressing the Speaker, he turned to the Sangamon delegation, who all sat in the same portion of the house, and said:

"Gentlemen, have you no other champion than this coarse and vulgar fellow to bring into the lists against me? Do you suppose that I will condescend to break a lance with your low and obscure colleague?"

Think of such a remark made to a man who was afterward to be President of the United States—to whom monuments were to be erected, and of whom hundreds of biographies were to be written, and who was to strike the fetters from four millions of slaves! I guess that if Ewing could have known it then, it would have greatly modified and softened his remarks; but who could see in the ungainly and uneducated man, the man who was to make himself thereafter second only to George Washington, the Father of his Country, whom, in honesty, patriotism and sterling integrity, he very much resembled.

We were all very much alarmed for fear there would be a personal conflict between Ewing and Lincoln. It was confidently believed that a challenge must pass between them, but the friends on both sides took it in hand, and it was settled without anything serious growing out of it.

USHER F. LINDER, *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 61-64.

THE CAPE GIRARDEAU EARTHQUAKE OF 1811-12

The Hon. Lewis F. Linn, of the U. S. Senate, from this state, says, "this memorable earthquake, after shaking the valley of the Mississippi to its centre, vibrated along the courses of the rivers and valleys, and passing the primitive mountain barriers, died away along the shores of the Atlantic ocean." In the region now under consideration, during the continuance of so appalling a phenomenon, which commenced by distant rumbling sounds, succeeded by discharges, as if a thousand pieces of artillery were suddenly exploded, the earth rocked "to and fro;" vast

chasms opened, from whence issued columns of water, sand and coal, accompanied by hissing sounds, caused, perhaps, by the escape of pent-up steam, while ever and anon flashes of electricity gleamed through the troubled clouds of night, rendering the darkness doubly horrible. The current of the Mississippi, pending this elemental strife, was driven back upon its source with the greatest velocity for several hours, in consequence of an elevation of its bed. But this noble river was not to be stayed in its course. Its accumulated waters came booming on, and, o'er-topping the barriers thus suddenly raised, carried every thing before them with resistless power. A few days' action of its powerful current sufficed to wear away every vestige of the barrier thus strangely interposed, and its waters moved on in their usual channel to the ocean. The appearances that presented themselves after the subsidence of the principal commotion, were such as strongly to support an opinion heretofore advanced. Hills had disappeared, and lakes were found in their stead; and numerous lakes became elevated ground, over the surface of which vast heaps of sand were scattered in every direction, while in many places the earth for miles was sunk below the general level of the surrounding country, without being covered with water, leaving an *impression in miniature of a catastrophe much more important in its effects, which had, perhaps, preceded it in ages before*. One of the lakes formed on this occasion is sixty or seventy miles in length, and from three to twenty in breadth. It is in some places very shallow; in others from fifty to an hundred feet deep, which is much more than the depth of the Mississippi river in that quarter."

WILLIAM G. LYFORD, *The Western Address Directory* (Baltimore, 1837), 447-48.

"SUCKERS"

My brother, Matthew, and I left Edwardsville on the 22d of February, 1827, to seek our fortunes at the [lead] mines. The winter had been a very "open" one, more so, I think, than the one through which we have just passed, but had been very wet. The whole country was covered with water, and as there were but few bridges, we were compelled to swim nearly every stream between Edwardsville and Galena, and "camp out" every night. After passing Springfield, where we rested the third night, we ferried the Illinois River at Fort Clark (now Peoria), and Rock River where Dixon now stands. It was occupied by a band of Winnebago Indians, with whom we bivouaced and bargained for ferriage the next morning. During the night it turned very cold, and in the morning the

Indians either would not or could not take us over, and so we took their canoes and crossed, ourselves. This was the first bitter cold weather we had experienced. We arrived at Vinegar Hill on the night of the 19th day out. Soon after, I went to the neighborhood of Gratiot's Grove. This grove, which was one of the most beautiful spots on earth, was occupied by Henry Gratiot, who was engaged in the smelting business. . . .

I spent three summers and one winter at the mines. There were estimated to be 10,000 adventurers there during the summer of 1827, some from Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri, but much the greater portion from Illinois. The Missourians were chiefly from the lower mines (as they were called), and were old miners. There were some "*voyageurs*" from Canada and the "Red-River Country." Also, some Swiss from the "Selkirk Settlement," who brought their families with them. The Canadians and Swiss settled about Gratiot's Grove. There were, also, a few Cornish miners from England. The Irish were there in large force. Neither the Irish, Swiss, Canadians, or those from the lower mines in Missouri were called "*Suckers*;" nor was any one called a "Sucker" after he had "wintered" in the mining country. The term was exclusively applicable to Illinoisans, who went up in the spring and returned in the fall. They were so-called because in their roving habits, they resembled the fish known as the *sucker*, which went up the streams in the spring and came down in the fall. The "Suckers," by way of retaliation, dubbed the Missourians "Pukes," as they said Missouri had taken a *puke* when her contribution to the population of the mines left that state. They styled the Ohioans "Red Horse," the name of a fish of little value. The Michiganders were called "Wolverines." The ingenuity of the miners was exercised in giving each other names after insignificant objects. I have no doubt the Wisconsinites got the name of "Badgers" from the large numbers of that animal which must have occupied the country before the whites penetrated it.

JOSEPH GILLESPIE, *Recollections of
Early Illinois* (1880), 40-43.

THE CHICAGO JUNGLE NINETY YEARS AGO

Chicago, the Wondrous, sits amid her wealth, like a magnificent sultana, half-reclining over a great oval mirror, supplied by that lake of lakes, the fathomless Michigan. Perhaps the resemblance might be unpoetically traced to particulars; for we are told by lotos-eating travellers, that Oriental beauties, with all their splendor, are not especially clean. Certain it is that our Occidental sultana dresses her fair head with towers

and spires, and hangs about her neck long rows of gems in the shape of stately and elegant dwellings,—yet, descending to her feet, we sink in mud and mire, or tumble unguardedly into excavations set like traps for the unwary, or oust whole colonies of rats from beneath plank walks where they have burrowed securely ever since “improvements” began. At some seasons, indeed, there is no mud; because the high winds from the lake or the prairies turn the mud into dust, which blinds our eyes, fills our mouths, and makes us Quakers in appearance and anything but saints in heart. Chicago-walking resembles none but such as Christian encountered as he fled from the City of Destruction; yet in this case the ills are those of a City of *Construction*,—sure to disappear as soon as the builders find time to care for such trifles. Chicago people, it is well known, walk with their heads in the clouds, and, naturally, do not mind what happens to their feet. It is only strangers who exclaim, and sometimes more than exclaim, at the dangers of the way. Cast-away carriages lie along the road-side, like ships on Fire Island beach. Nobody minds them. If you see a gentleman at a distance, progressing slowly with a gliding or floundering pace, you conclude he has a horse under him, and, perhaps, on nearer approach, you see bridle and headstall. This is in early spring, while the frost is coming out of the ground. As the season advances, the horse emerges, and you are just getting a fair sight of him when the dust begins and he disappears again. So say the scoffers, and those who would, but do not, own any city-lots in that favored vicinity; and to the somewhat heated mind of the traveller who encounters such things for the first time, the story does not seem so very much exaggerated. Simple wayfarers like myself, however, tell no such wicked tales of the Garden City; but remember only her youth, her grandeur, her spirit, her hospitality, her weight of cares, her immense achievements, and her sure promise of future metropolitan splendors.

The vicinity of Chicago is all dotted with beautiful villa-residences. To drive among them is like turning over a book of architectural drawings,—so great is their variety, and so marked the taste which prevails. Many of them are of the fine light-colored stone found in the neighborhood, and their substantial excellence inspires a feeling that all this prosperity is of no ephemeral character. People do not build such country-houses until they feel settled and secure. The lake-shore is of course the line of attraction, for it is the only natural beauty of the place. But what trees! Several of the streets of Chicago may easily become as beautiful drives as the far-famed Cascine at Florence, and will be so before her population doubles again,—which is giving but a short interval for the improvement. No parks as yet, however. Land on the lake-shore is too

precious, and the flats west of the town are quite despised. Yet city parks do not demand very unequal surface, and it would not require a very potent landscape-gardener or an unheard-of amount of dollars to make a fine driving—and riding-ground, where the new carriages of the fortunate might be aired, and the fine horses of the gay exercised, during a good part of the year.

To describe Chicago, one would need all the superlatives set in a row. Grandest, flattest,—muddiest, dustiest,—hottest, coldest,—wettest, driest,—farthest north, south, east, and west from other places, consequently most central,—best harbor on Lake Michigan, worst harbor and smallest river any great commercial city ever lived on,—most elegant in architecture, meanest in hovel-propping,—wildest in speculation, solidest in value,—proudest in self-esteem, loudest in self-disparagement,—most lavish, most grasping,—most public-spirited in some things, blindest and darkest on some points of highest interest.

And some poor souls would doubtless add,—most fascinating, or most desolate,—according as one goes there, gay and hopeful, to find troops of prosperous friends, or, lonely and poor, with the distant hope of bettering broken fortunes by struggling among the driving thousands already there on the same errand. There is, perhaps, no place in the world where it is more necessary to take a bright and hopeful view of life, and none where this is more difficult. There is too much at stake. Those who have visited Baden-Baden and her Kur-saal sisters in the height of the season need not be told that no “church-face” ever equalled in solemnity the countenances of those who surround the fatal tables, waiting for the stony lips of the *croupier* to announce “*Noir perd*,” or “*Rouge gagne*.” At Chicago are a wider table, higher stakes, more desperate throws, and Fate herself presiding, or what seems Fate, at once partial and inexorable.

Atlantic Monthly (Sept., 1858), 486-87.

BOOK REVIEWS

Lincoln the Liberal Statesman. By J. G. Randall. (Dodd, Mead & Company: New York, 1947. Pp. xv, 266. \$4.50.)

The many small sketches which an artist makes in working out the sections of a large canvas often are hardly less interesting, individually, than the full painting. So it is with historical writings. So it is, in any case, with the Lincoln studies of J. G. Randall, distinguished professor of history at the University of Illinois, and president of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1945-46.

Dr. Randall's latest volume consists of eight essays, six of which have been previously published and so may be regarded as "work sheets," so to speak, for his two-volume *Lincoln the President* in the "American Political Leaders" series. Two of these papers helped establish the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* on its high plane of Lincoln scholarship: "Lincoln's Sumter Dilemma," the substance of which is that Lincoln worked hard to solve the problem of Sumter without resort to arms, and "The Unpopular Mr. Lincoln," which reminds forgetful memories just how turbulent and noisy the besmirchers of Lincoln were.

The heretofore unprinted essays are the first, "Moot Points in the Lincoln Story," and the last, whose title is taken for the collection. The "moot points" are such things as: "the sentimental tradition as to Lincoln and Ann Rutledge;" the belief that Lincoln was a "backwoods character;" the oversimplification of the subject of Lincoln and Douglas ("if they had sat down at a table to arrive at solutions and recommend measures for nonpartisan adoption, they would have had much in common"); the persistent notion that Lincoln was an abolitionist whereas he resented that label as a stigma; Lincoln's own doubts as to the legal efficacy of the Emancipation Proclamation; the idea that Lincoln was a dictator. On these and other moot points, Dr. Randall turns the light of long study of all the sources, careful evaluation, and honest reflection.

The other new essay, which characterizes Lincoln, in terms of political philosophy, as "a tough minded, liberal realist," distills the Randall scholarship as perhaps does no other of these shorter studies. Showing Lincoln to be a believer in "evolutionary democratic progress," it concludes:

The Lincoln record is no mere success story of a railsplitter who became President, a prairie lawyer who reached world fame. One might wonder just how he became to the majority of his countrymen the embodiment of the American genius. Perhaps the inner source of his strength has not been fully plumbed. It might be hard to answer where and how he learned statecraft, but statesmen even yet will do well to take him as guide and mentor. In each new recurring crisis—in colossal wars that have shaken the world—men continue to carry the appeal to the spirit of Lincoln. Only in poetry does his ghost stalk at midnight, but his inspired words and the rugged vigor of his ideals seem today to have a greater vitality than during the vexed years of his presidency.

The themes of the other essays can be told from their titles: "A Blundering Generation," "The Rule of Law Under Lincoln," "Lincoln and John Bright," "Lincoln's Peace and Wilson's." The reprinting is from such journals as the *Yale Review*, the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, and the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Reprinting, however, is a misnomer. All these studies have been extensively revised for this volume and some have been virtually recast. This was not only to draw them within the plan of Lincoln as the liberal statesman. It was as much to bring them abreast of the latest results of the author's unceasing investigations.

One effect is to enable Dr. Randall to underscore his conviction that wars are avoidable. He knows too well the record of human frailty and thick-headedness in the decade before the secession to accept the view that the Civil War was inevitable.

A quotation of more than ordinary interest to Illinoisans is from a letter of Orville H. Browning of Quincy, successor to the seat of Douglas. Browning had been Lincoln's friend and political supporter, yet he was uncertain as to whether he should support Lincoln or McClellan in 1864. Writing to Senator Edgar Cowan of Pennsylvania two months before the election, Browning described the enthusiasm with which the General's nomination was received and said he was "inclined to think that there are many republicans [who] will secretly support him." Then he wrote:

You know, strange as it may seem to you. . . . I am personally attached to the President, and have . . . tried to . . . make him respectable; tho' I never have been able to persuade myself that he was big enough for his position. Still, I thought he might get through, as many a boy has got through college, without disgrace, and without knowledge; but I fear he is a failure.

Collinsville, Illinois.

IRVING DILLIARD.

Portrait for Posterity, Lincoln and His Biographers. By Benjamin P. Thomas. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, 1947. Pp. 329. \$3.00.)

In painting the *Portrait for Posterity*, Benjamin P. Thomas has done a signal service for all who are interested in the life of Abraham Lincoln. This book, containing 310 pages of text, is directed not only toward the world of scholarship, but primarily to the public which has only a rather general and vague picture of the Great Emancipator. In so doing, the author has eliminated citations to particular letters except as they appear naturally in the context. Had this not been done, the result would have been (to use one of his own quotations) "a rivulet of text flowing through a meadow of footnotes." The letters used are cited as parts of collections in the bibliography.

The general scheme of the book is to show the present concept of Lincoln and how this has grown and changed with the publication of various general biographies or special studies. In developing this plan, the particular bias of each of the authors—his strength as well as his weakness—is shown. Those who wrote before the 1920's are made to speak through their own letters. Nonetheless, Mr. Thomas passes judgment on each one, either in accepting an apt opinion of someone else or in well chosen words of his own. Ida Tarbell he characterizes as: "A realist, in that she welcomed truth when it was demonstrated, she tried to keep her feet on the ground. But sometimes only her tip-toes touched, as she reached to grasp a star."

There are many quotable passages, such as the final paragraph of the first chapter which sets the scene for all Lincoln writing. I feel the author has been fair to his subjects—Herndon, insisting on what he believed to be the truth; Chauncey F. Black, ghost-writer for Lamon, stirring up trouble for his own advantage; Nicolay and Hay, deferring to Robert Lincoln. Readers will particularly enjoy the chapter entitled "A Prolific Preacher" with its seriocomic controversy over the paternity of Lincoln. Controversy is never far from those who knew Lincoln personally or through later study. From this welter emerges the picture we now have.

This superb study clarifies our image of Lincoln and should reach as large a public as Paul Angle's *Lincoln Reader*. They are companion volumes which, read together, give a more complete understanding and enjoyment of each.

Illinois College.

ERNEST G. HILDNER, JR.

The First Hundred Years of MacMurray College. By Mary Watters. (Jacksonville, Ill., 1947. Pp. 652.)

MacMurray College was founded in 1846 as the Illinois Conference Female Academy. Its growth from that date reflects the growth of Illinois. James Frazier Jaquess served as first president and became famous later for his mission to the South during the Civil War. With slavery a festering social sore, it is not surprising to learn that discussion of abolition entered MacMurray's academic halls. One young lady had the temerity to insert inflammable opinions in her graduation oration after its text had been approved by the faculty. The outcome of this and other exciting episodes are told by Dr. Watters in fair weather language—bright and clear. Readers interested in Peter Akers, "Uncle Peter" Cartwright, and their times will find much about them in this volume.

The post-bellum period at MacMurray, as in other institutions, was marked by the dual struggle for endowments and for changes in educational objectives. The author's sensitive description of college life in the Victorian age is humorous and, to some of us, nostalgic. From the Gay Nineties to the jazz age, Miss Watters describes how girls in college have changed with American life, a change from croquet to hockey, from fudge to hamburgers. MacMurray under its present president, Clarence P. McClelland, has burgeoned into one of the leading women's colleges in the Midwest—justifying the claims of the founder who purchased a corn field in the hope that the ground would produce a good annual crop of young ladies.

Only a woman gifted in writing could understand and interpret the minds of three generations of college women with the charm and penetration that Miss Watters has displayed in this book.

J. M.

Horace Greeley and the Republican Party, 1853-1861: A Study of the New York Tribune. By Jeter Allen Isely. (Princeton University Press: Princeton, N. J., 1947. Pp. 368. \$4.50.)

Horace Greeley ranks with McClellan, Thurlow Weed, and almost with Stephen A. Douglas as a great foil for Abraham Lincoln. James Ford Rhodes, the historian of the Civil War, said that an understanding of the impulse behind the 1,866,000 men who voted in 1860 for Abraham Lincoln could be found in Greeley's weekly *Tribune*. It may be found also in Jeter Isely's book. With lucid narrative and at the same time scholarly accuracy, the author traces the career of the man who helped form the Republican Party and bring on the war—but the war did not accomplish

what Greeley had hoped, and the party he had founded repudiated him. Isely shows plainly that Horace Greeley was a man with great popular influence but no directive force. His editorials might kindle emotions in a million farmers across the United States, but more practical men were able to harness these emotions for their own purposes. Disillusioned at the close of the Civil War, Greeley wrote, "I could not believe that we *deserved* to win. We are a Pro Slavery people to-day. In the great city of Philadelphia, which gave Lincoln nearly 10,000 majority in '60, and again in '64, a black Union soldier is not allowed to ride in their street-cars."

J. M.

From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes. By John Hope Franklin. (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1947. Pp. 622. \$5.00.)

A history of the American Negro is foreign to the field of Midland history books cited in this *Journal*, but Lincoln's interest in the colored race makes it appropriate to cite this outstanding summary of Negro achievement. Dr. Franklin begins with the early Negro states in Africa and ends with World War II and present-day Negro problems. He describes the highly organized African society where some noble houses have reigned for periods that make European rulers appear to be mere political pretenders. The current belief that Negro workers are "a docile" element in labor may be a reflection of their age-old discipline and respect for organized government. Certainly in America's Revolution, in the Civil War, and in both World Wars the Negroes' part has been valorous. Dr. Franklin writes dispassionately and with clear, engaging prose. The cultural development of Negroes in the last half century will amaze the uninformed. The whole unfortunate story is here recounted with dignity and tolerance.

J. M.

Saline County—A Century of History. By the Saline County Historical Society. (Register Publishing Company: Harrisburg, Ill., 1947. Pp. 327, [25]. \$3.00.)

It is a pleasure to discover a county history like this—a book, attractive in format, easy to read, and convenient to hold. Fourteen chapters comprise the body of the work. They deal with different phases of the county's history and are written by various authors—all members of the Saline County Historical Society. A listing of just a few of these

chapters will give some idea of the scope of this centennial history: "Early Settlements of Saline County," by Talitha E. Aaron; "Early Courts and Government," by Clara Louise Pittman; "Churches and Religious Worship," by T. Leo Dodd; "Schools of Saline County," by Florence L. Hancock; "Early Business and Industry," by Frances Bat-cheldor; and "During Eight Wars," by Scerial Thompson. The Introduction is by the late Clarence Bonnell. The book is well illustrated, has a bibliography, and an index.

One is rewarded in the reading of good books with the wisdom and insight of others. One such quotation from this book in the chapter "During Eight Wars," should give us pause. Captain Clyde Webb, who commanded a flying fortress in the South Pacific wrote this to his loved ones at home just before the last trip on which he lost his life:

Independence Day, and here I am fighting for that same independence again against a different country, and with a different weapon, air power. I know now what Washington meant when he said that we would always have to fight for our freedom. . . . Freedom will always go to those who are willing to fight and suffer for it. If we, as a nation, are willing to suffer, and die, and kill for that freedom, nothing will ever take it away from us. Unless we are, we will lose this war and the freedom which we are fighting for. I can see now why wars will never cease.

S. A. W.

History of Land Occupation, Utilization, and Tenure in the Illinois Military Tract to 1900. By Theodore Leonard Carlson. (An abstract of a thesis, Urbana, Ill., 1947. Pp. 20.)

Embracing an area almost unsurpassed for cultivation—fertile soil, well drained—the Military Tract was originally set aside for the soldiers of the War of 1812. Speculators, squatters, booms, and depressions all have played their part. The coming of the railroads revolutionized agriculture in the Military Tract, but the years following 1873 were hard on the farmers because of depressed prices for farm products. Farm tenancy increased, and for many the dream of land ownership was never realized. And so, although in the beginning much of the land was given away, with the passing of years and the changing of fortunes, a few had much while many had little.

For one who can be satisfied with a summary of the problem, this brief abstract of a thesis submitted for the doctorate is well presented. It deals with an important factor in the growth and development of our state. From this interesting sample, however, one can but hope that the full thesis will be published. It fills a real need in the complete story of Illinois.

S. A. W.

A Midwest Bibliography. (Supplementary number of The Newberry Library *Bulletin* for June, 1947. Pp. 48.)

An interesting departure in bibliographies, this bulletin is a republication of articles which appeared in the May 4, 1947, issue of *Book Week*, the literary section of the *Chicago Sun*.

Stanley Pargellis, librarian of the Newberry Library, served as guest editor of this issue of the *Chicago Sun's* literary section. He selected, with the help of an advisory board, authoritative writers to discuss books about the Midlands in various fields. This literary section of May 4, 1947, was headed "The Great Midwest Bookshelf." It discussed books written about our prairie land from the earliest times and on different phases of the Midwest. There are chapters on novels, poetry, humor, the small town, fine presses, railroads, early travelers, books of protest, and essential Lincolnia, to name only a few. In addition, there are short lists of books about the states that make up the Midlands. It is a delightful bibliography—one to enjoy reading for its own sake.

S. A. W.

Metamora. By C. Henry Smith. (The College Book Store: Bluffton, Ohio, 1947. Pp. 72.)

Hunting for the origin of things is a fascinating pursuit. Dr. Smith has worked diligently to find the origin of the name and the story back of his home town, Metamora. This he traces to Metacomet, or King Philip, about whose life the playwright John Augustus Stone wrote, *Metamora; Or, The Last of the Wampanoags*. This play was known to Mrs. Peter H. Willard, who suggested the name "Metamora."

But this booklet contains two other articles. Inspired by a statue at the Chicago Historical Society honoring Black Partridge, who rescued Mrs. Helm at the Fort Dearborn Massacre, Dr. Smith relates the story of Black Partridge, chief of a band of Potawatomi whose home was in the western hills of later Woodford County.

The concluding article is a radio address on "The Real Lincoln," delivered on February 12, 1940, over station WLOK, Lima, Ohio. The author regrets that there has been so much romancing about the life of Lincoln and expresses his disgust at the exaltation found in Edgar Lee Masters' poem on Ann Rutledge. He admits that this may be good poetry, but believes it poor history.

S. A. W.

Joseph Medill: A Brief Biography and an Appreciation. (Chicago Tribune: Chicago, 1947. Pp. 42.)

This beautiful booklet contains two appreciations of Joseph Medill previously published in 1923 and 1929. They are republished in this attractive format as the *Tribune* commemorates its one hundredth anniversary.

The first study, "Joseph Medill: The Man," was originally published as a booklet in 1929. The second, "An Appreciation," by James O'Donnell Bennett is reprinted from the *Chicago Tribune* of April 6, 1923, on the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Joseph Medill.

These estimates of a stalwart figure in American journalism are especially appropriate for the *Tribune's* centennial. Many of the qualities of this man who guided the newspaper's destinies for forty-four years still characterize the *Chicago Tribune* of today.

S. A. W.

Motion Pictures Owned By or Relating to the American Railroads. Compiled by the Association of American Railroads. (Washington, D. C., 1947. Pp. 63.)

Here is a most useful listing of films—many free, some for rent, some for sale—that are available for distribution. Details about each film are given—whether silent or with sound, length of time to show, and a brief summary of the contents. Many of the films listed sound fascinating.

The booklet is well arranged for easy use. It has a title index and a subject index. There is a list of the commercial distributors and industrial firms from whom the films may be obtained. Schools and organizations with facilities for showing films should welcome this publication.

S. A. W.

With Love—From Mother. By Sister Maureen Flynn, O. P. (The Christopher Publishing House: Boston, 1947. Pp. 202. \$3.00.)

Now, after four years, we are pleased to note the appearance of a new edition of *With Love—From Mother*. First published in 1943, this little book, written by Sister Maureen Flynn in the form of letters from her mother, tells the story of Elizabeth Duffner, who was born on a farm near Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1863. After attending country and parochial schools, and teaching school herself, Elizabeth Duffner married John Flynn. The young couple prospered and reared a large family.

But this is not only a book for the family of thirty grandchildren and three great-grandchildren. It is also the picture of a devout family in rural Illinois. It is a beautiful story of a long and happy life. True, there were difficult times and sorrow, but the book is one of gratitude and thankfulness to God for many blessings. In these cynical times it is refreshing to read about such homely pleasures.

S. A. W.

RECENT MAGAZINE ARTICLES OF INTEREST TO ILLINOISANS

"Luring Canadian Soldiers into Union Lines During the War Between the States." By Marguerite B. Hamer. (*The Canadian Historical Review*, June, 1946.)

"Myths and Legends from Southern Illinois." By Jesse W. Harris. (*Hoosier Folklore*, March, 1946.)

"The Engineering Mind of Abraham Lincoln." By Earl C. Kubicek. (*Illinois Tech Engineer*, Dec., 1946.)

"Resistance to New Inventions." (*Indiana History Bulletin*, June, 1947.)

"A Southerner's View of Abraham Lincoln." By V. M. Scanlan. (*Indiana Magazine of History*, June, 1947.)

"Horticultural Humbuggery Among the Western Farmers, 1850-1890." By Earl W. Hayter. (*Indiana Magazine of History*, Sept., 1947.)

"Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864: Parts one and two, 1856 and 1857." (*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, May and August, 1947.)

"The Dustless Road to Happyland." By Edward J. Dowling, S. J. (*Michigan History*, June, 1947.)

"The Abbé Rivet at Vincennes." By Thomas T. McAvoy. (*Mid-America*, Jan., 1947.)

"Meat in the Diet of Westward Explorers and Emigrants." By Col. Edward N. Wentworth. (*Mid-America*, April, 1947.)

"The Election of 1860 and the Germans in Minnesota." By Hildgard Binder Johnson. (*Minnesota History*, March, 1947.)

"General Benjamin F. Butler in the Presidential Campaign of 1864." By Lewis Taylor Merrill. (*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1947.)

"A Description of the Chicago Fire of 1871." Edited by Robert H. Woody. (*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1947.)

"Preliminary Guide to Indexed Newspapers in the United States, 1850-1900." By Herbert O. Brayer. (*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Sept., 1946.)

"Isolationism and the Middle West." By William G. Carleton. (*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Dec., 1946.)

"Eugene Field's Newspaper Days in St. Louis." By Harry R. Burke. (*Missouri Historical Review*, Jan., 1947.)

"Joe Cannon's Carolina Background." By Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert. (*The North Carolina Historical Review*, Oct., 1946.)

"Lincoln as Gettysburg Saw Him." By Robert Fortenbaugh. (*Pennsylvania History*, Jan., 1947.)

"The New England Governors vs. Lincoln: The Providence Conference." By William B. Hesseltine and Hazel Wolf. (*Rhode Island History*, Oct., 1946.)

"Old Fort Shipley." By N. W. Draper. (*Southern Illinois Historical Society Journal*, Oct., 1946.)

Also, each 1947 issue of the *Egyptian Key*, published in Carbondale, Illinois, is full of articles of interest to all Illinoisans. This attractive magazine, now in its fifth year of publication, is under the editorship of Will Griffith.

A new magazine, *Illinois Folklore*, published by the Illinois Folklore Society has just appeared. As soon as conditions permit, the Society proposes to publish *Illinois Folklore* as a quarterly bulletin. At present, however, it will be issued at irregular intervals. Membership in the Illinois Folklore Society is \$1.00 per year and members receive *Illinois Folklore* free of charge. Application for membership should be sent to Miss Tina M. Goodwin, 409 W. Monroe Street, Carbondale, Illinois. Volume I, no. 1, of *Illinois Folklore* for October, 1947, contains several interesting articles and a list of recent publications of interest to folklore enthusiasts.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Our cover illustration this month shows a room in a pioneer cabin. This is a photograph of a diorama on display in the museum at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois. John W. Allen is curator of history at the museum.

FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1947

The forty-eighth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in Rockford on October 31 and November 1. The meeting opened on Friday afternoon in beautiful Talcott Hall at Rockford College. Ernest Hildner, Jr., dean at Illinois College and chairman of the program committee, presided at this session. After cordial words of welcome by Dr. Mary Ashby Cheek, president of Rockford College, and Mayor C. Henry Bloom, Paul M. Angle, who needs no introduction to readers of this *Journal*, discussed the impounded Lincoln papers in the Library of Congress. He highlighted his very effective talk with excerpts from a few of the letters. Next, Professor Abbie Findlay Potts, of the English department of Rockford College, spoke on "The Importance of Action in Local History." She based her animated talk on the history of the founding of Rockford College.

A delightful tea on the Faculty Porch of Rockford College followed this meeting. Society members and their friends were guests of the gracious president of Rockford College.

The annual dinner of the Society was held in the Court Street Methodist Church on Friday evening. In the absence of President Theodore C. Pease, whose illness prevented him from attending, Dr. Dwight F. Clark, a vice-president and director of the Society, presided. The Rev. Harold M. Carlson, pastor of the Bethesda Covenant Church of Rockford, gave the invocation at the beginning of the meal. Before the main address, the Harmony Male Chorus directed by John Roebuck presented several excellent numbers. The main address of the evening, "The Country Newspaper as a Source of Local History," was given by Dr. Thomas D. Clark, head of the Department of History at the University of Kentucky. Pro-

fessor Clark enlivened his talk with many amusing excerpts from country papers and his own humorous observations.

Saturday morning, the members of the Historical Society again met briefly in Talcott Hall at Rockford College. Herman G. Nelson, chairman of the local arrangements committee, presided at this session. Dr. Conrad Bergendoff, president of Augustana College, spoke on "The Swedish Pioneer Centennial Observance in Illinois in 1948." Dr. Bergendoff told briefly of the early Swedish pioneers who came to the Mississippi Valley. Following this, Dr. Charles E. Herrick gave a concise history of Rockford and of the places to be visited on the Society's tours.

Promptly thereafter, two busses carried Society members and their friends to the Tinker Swiss Cottage and the beautiful home of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Hinchliff. Several cars took a smaller group on the second trip which included a visit to the Stephen Mack trading post in Mack town forest preserve, and the old stone church in Rockton.

Luncheon was served in the Y. M. C. A. Log Cabin Lodge. The Rev. Joseph Conrad, associate pastor of the Zion Lutheran Church, pronounced the invocation. This impressive lodge is located at a sightly spot on the Rock River—seemingly at the water's edge. Ernest E. East, past president of the Society, presided at this luncheon meeting. Oscar C. Hayward told of progress made in raising funds for the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration to be held in 1949. Herbert O. Brayer, state archivist for Colorado and consultant for UNESCO, spoke on, "Our Problem in Europe." Graphically and dramatically, Dr. Brayer presented a picture of the situation in Europe today and urged our whole-hearted support of the Marshall Plan.

The directors elected Irving Dilliard, Collinsville, president of the Society, Scerial Thompson, Harrisburg, senior vice-president, and C. C. Tisler, Ottawa, a vice-president.

The Illinois State Historical Society is greatly indebted to the program committee, consisting of Ernest Hildner, chairman, Wayne C. Townley, and Dr. Mary Ashby Cheek for providing an interesting meeting. The Society is also indebted to the local arrangements committee under the chairmanship of Herman G. Nelson. The other members of this committee included: Mayor C. Henry Bloom, Isabel Abbott, Alf O. Ahlstrand, Marvin O. Alden, Elizabeth Brush, Stanley Erikson, John H. Page, Francis C. Spence, and Mrs. Ward Thompson.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

NOV. 1, 1947

*To the Directors and Members
of the Illinois State Historical Society*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am pleased to be able to open this report with the announcement that our Society has grown during the past year from 1622 dues-paying members to 1890, an increase of twenty-six percent above the goal set for our Fiftieth Anniversary to be held in 1949. At the present rate of growth we should be able to count on well over 2,000 members by that time. Our publications are sent to libraries and on exchange to other historical societies so that our present mailing list amounts to 2,725. Thus we have grown in recent years from a medium-sized state society to one of the three largest in the United States. For this increase our membership committee deserves great praise. Under the chairmanship of Jewell F. Stevens a committee consisting of Mrs. Harry L. Meyer and Scerial Thompson have divided the state into three zones of thirty-four counties each. The following members have been appointed local county chairmen: Herman G. Nelson, Bertha R. Leaman, Lawrence A. Ludens, C. C. Tisler, Godfrey G. Luthy, Mary B. Wright, Dorothy M. Gard, Oliver D. Mann, Edward E. Adams, U. L. Evans, Craig Van Meter, Donald Lewis, Harold G. Baker, J. M. Mitchell, Sam Ziegler, O. M. Karraker, Elihu N. Hall.

These committeemen have all contributed the names of many people who have joined the Society. Godfrey Luthy has led them all by adding thirty-one new members—a record that has been beaten only by Wayne Townley who brought over eighty members into the Society in 1946.

Besides the membership campaign, another recent activity of the Society has included plans and preparations for the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration in 1949. President Theodore C. Pease and Secretary-Treasurer J. Monaghan have both delivered the manuscripts of the books they have prepared, to the University of Chicago Press for printing and publication. President Pease's volume is a revised edition of his *The Story of Illinois* first published in 1925 and now brought down to date. The other volume for the Anniversary is a pictorial history of the state consisting of pictures selected by J. Monaghan with the aid of a committee consisting of O. Fritiof Ander, John H. Hauberg, and Theodore C. Pease.

The necessary cost of these two volumes will be a tax on the Society's treasury. The committee appointed to raise the sum of \$5,000 to defray the expenses of the Anniversary includes: Oscar C. Hayward, chairman, H. Gary Hudson, James A. James, Jewell F. Stevens, Wayne C. Townley. This committee has prepared a circular requesting contribu-

tions of \$5, \$10, \$25 or \$50. All donors of \$50 are to be listed as sponsors at the celebration. Mr. J. B. Forgan has consented to be Honorary Treasurer. The report of this committee, delivered in detail at this meeting, shows that \$2,270 has been raised or a trifle less than half the goal set. The Society has fourteen months in which to raise the balance. To date the Society has paid \$340 for illustrations and editorial help preparing the two volumes now in press.

The Society has also been working on a project to index the first twenty-five volumes of its *Journals*. For some years, this work has gone forward. The directors voted to employ extra help for this work, paying \$50 per volume for indexing. At the time of my last report volumes I, III, VIII and XXIII had been indexed. Since then we have reorganized our staff and I am happy to tell you that all volumes have been completed at a cost to the Society of only \$200. The vast number of index cards prepared from these twenty-five volumes have also been alphabetized. The job of editing, supplying subheads and typing for the printer remains to be done. We hope now to accomplish this before the Fiftieth Anniversary.

Your secretary is glad to report that the Society has been able to renew its old policy of publishing bound volumes of *Transactions* or *Papers*, as they were called at the time of their discontinuance in 1942. The fiftieth volume of this set, the Civil War diary of James T. Ayers, is coming from the printer as this report is being read.

Since my last report the papers left the Society by Dr. Carl E. Black have been sorted. This has been a year's job. The collection included a large number of pictures of Illinois doctors, which took years to accumulate. The Illinois State Medical Society has contributed \$342.25 to help defray the expense of arranging this collection and to provide steel cabinets for its preservation.

A year ago we suggested that all members consider giving memberships to the Society as Christmas presents. This met with considerable success and we have repeated the suggestion by enclosing applications in the *Journal* which is now in the mail. As yet we have not had time to record the success of this proposal.

On May 2 and 3 the Society held its annual spring tour. The event was described in our June *Journal*. For the success of this meeting the Society is indebted to Dr. R. C. Slater of La Salle and C. C. Tisler of Ottawa. The hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. T. R. Godfrey, owners of the famous John Hossack home at Ottawa, is remembered with much pleasure by all who visited their charming residence. The Society also owes thanks to Mrs. Helen Lawrence Murdock and other Daughters of the American Revolution for assisting in this social event.

At the October 5, 1946, meeting of the directors of our Society a proposal was presented for the publication of a magazine to be called *The Junior Historian*. The contributors to this magazine were to be high school students. It was pointed out that such a magazine would interest students in our state's history. The directors of our Society endorsed this plan provided that subscriptions for the magazine be sufficient to cover the cost of printing. To start the experiment the directors pledged to meet a deficit not to exceed \$200. Over 1200 students subscribed to this magazine and the program was progressing splendidly until the sudden illness of Professor Fritiof Ander necessitated its temporary suspension.

To acquaint people with the Society and its activities your secretary has written hundreds of letters and made many addresses to civic and cultural groups. At the Madison County Teachers' Institute, Donald Lewis represented the Society and explained the publications available to all members. At the Saline County Centennial your Society had an exhibit presided over by S. A. Wetherbee. The display consisted of four dioramas selected by John W. Allen from the museum of Southern Illinois University and two gigantic replicas of the Society's *Journal*.

It has been gratifying to note various quotations from the Society's publications by the press. Our clipping service shows over 150 citations. In Chicago, editors of both the *Daily News* and the *Tribune* have commented on *Journal* articles. The history of Saline County written by Scerial Thompson drew wide comment from "downstate." E. E. Dale's study of food on the frontier was quoted at length, as were the accounts of William E. Borah's Illinois boyhood by Waldo W. Braden and Jediah F. Alexander's editorial activities written by Hubert Schmidt. The latter was the winning paper in the Alfred W. Stern Civil War Essay Contest.

With regret it must be noted that the grim reaper has not overlooked our Society since the last meeting. Our Vice-President Colonel Willard Matheny is missed by his many friends in the organization. His enthusiasm, loyalty and counsel have been invaluable. The Society also mourns the loss of an honorary member, Professor Evarts B. Greene, our first secretary and a scholar of great attainment. We have also lost two life members who always showed much interest in the organization: Mrs. Harold E. Leopold and Nelson John Ludington.

Respectfully submitted,

J. MONAGHAN.

REPORT OF FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY FUND COMMITTEE

Professor Theodore C. Pease, President

Illinois State Historical Society

DEAR PROFESSOR PEASE:

I wish to report on the contributions to the Society's 50th anniversary fund as remittances have come to me as chairman of that fund.

The total amount received to date is \$2,270, which is largely due to the generosity of Mr. John H. Hauberg who sent us \$1,000 and followed it up with a \$50 remittance.

The number of contributions is 89, including one remittance with no name, merely entitled "A Friend."

One envelope was received without any contents, the envelope being unsealed and one edge cut. I left this envelope with the Winnetka postmaster that he might endeavor to trace it, with its postmark, Chicago, and the date, giving him the only clue upon which to work. If anyone recalls making a contribution and not sealing the envelope, if they remitted by check will they please examine their October bank vouchers and see who it was made out to, either Mr. Forgan, to the Society or to me and have their bank stop payment on the check.

Two contributions have been made in cash, one for \$20 and one for \$5.00. These two cash contributions were received early after the announcements were mailed and I immediately acknowledged receipt of the monies. These acknowledgments were made before we had the printed ones, which every contributor has received signed by me as chairman.

As to the amounts contributed:

42	contributed	\$ 5.00
29	"	10.00
1	"	20.00
4	"	25.00
13	"	50.00

and Mr. Hauberg's \$1,000.00

Geographically, Chicago and the immediate suburbs had 43 contributors, downstate 40 contributors. States other than Illinois, ranging from Virginia to California had 6 contributors.

The latest total membership, according to the Secretary's figures is 1890.

The recording of 90 contributors was a disappointment to me as I thought we would receive contributions from 10 percent of the Society's membership.

We will send out a second request. I hope there will be sufficient monies contributed to make up the \$5,000 we expect to raise from the Society's membership.

Respectfully submitted,

OSCAR C. HAYWARD

Chairman, October 28, 1947.

MINUTES OF THE 48TH ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS, NOVEMBER 1, 1947

The Forty-eighth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was called to order in the Y.M.C.A. Log Cabin Lodge at Rockford, Illinois.

The secretary read his annual report which was approved by the Society.

Mr. Hayward reported the progress of the Fiftieth Anniversary Fund Committee stating that \$2,270 had been collected to date.

It was then announced that the terms of five directors had expired, *to wit:* O. Fritiof Ander, Ernest E. East, Irving Dilliard, Jewell F. Stevens and Wayne Townley. Judge George C. Dixon, chairman of the nominating committee, proposed that the five directors, whose terms had expired, all be nominated for re-election. Mr. Elmer E. Abrahamson moved that the nominations be closed and that a unanimous ballot be cast for all the nominees. This motion was seconded and passed.

The meeting then adjourned.



THE LATE COLONEL MATHENY

At the meeting of the Board of Directors, the following resolutions were passed:

WHEREAS, The death of Colonel Willard R. Matheny has occurred since the last meeting of this Society, and

WHEREAS, Colonel Matheny was for many years a Director of this Society, and an active participant, both as a public official and as a private citizen, in all movements for the preservation and dissemination of the history of Illinois, be it

Resolved, That the Illinois State Historical Society take this means of acknowledging the loss it has suffered by his death, and

Be it Further Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the records of the Society, printed in its publication, and transmitted, with the sympathy of this membership, to the surviving members of his family.

THE SALINE COUNTY CENTENNIAL

Saline County celebrated its one hundredth anniversary on October 23 to 25 with celebrations in Harrisburg and throughout the county. A colorful pageant was given nightly at the fairgrounds in Harrisburg. This pageant, "One Hundred Years of Progress," depicted in eleven principal scenes the history of the region from the days of the red men to the present time.

On the second day of the centennial celebration, a tour of about sixty miles was made to many places of historic interest in the county. Among the interesting spots visited were: John Rector's grave, Kaskaskia Trail, the law office of Robert and Ebon Ingersoll, the site of the first courthouse at Raleigh, the old stone face on Eagle Mountain, old Stonefort, the old tobacco barn at Galatia, the Hankerson Rude blockhouse at Rudement.

Saturday, October 25, climaxed the three-day celebration. A beautiful parade, forming in Galatia at eight o'clock in the morning passed through Raleigh, Eldorado, Carrier Mills, and then on to Harrisburg where it circled the square and went out to the fairgrounds. This was a remarkable parade, with a bewildering number of beautiful and carefully planned floats. Even nature cooperated with genial sunshine during the parade time in Harrisburg. In the afternoon, Governor Dwight H. Green spoke at the fairgrounds to a capacity audience. The Saturday evening presentation of the pageant, however, had to be postponed on account of rain. Except for that one evening, the weather for the celebrations was ideal.

One of the most delightful features of the centennial was the decoration of business houses in Harrisburg and, we are told, in the other towns of the county as well. Store windows exhibited antiques dating back a hundred years and more. Clothing, dishes, furniture, silver, and glass, as well as old-time implements and machinery were effectively displayed. To capture the spirit of bygone days, many men raised beards and women wore the clothes of grandma's day. The women played their roles with surprising nonchalance, attending to their routine shopping in the flowing skirts of generations ago.

Various state departments had exhibits at the fairgrounds. The office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction had its own tent where an old-fashioned school was set up and moving pictures were shown of the modern school in contrast. These movies were made in Saline County. The exhibits of other state departments were housed in Floral Hall on the fairgrounds. The Harrisburg and Eldorado chapters of the W.C.T.U. also had an exhibit in Floral Hall.

Dr. Percival Bailey, a member of our Society in Chicago, writes us:

In traveling about the midwest states I have noticed everywhere that the early settlers planted in their front yards always two cedar trees, one on either side of the entrance to the house. Even when the house no longer exists one notes where it originally stood by these two cedar trees. I have felt that this custom must have some religious significance but I have never found anyone who could explain it to me. Perhaps you know the answer to this custom or, if not, you might perhaps put an inquiry in the *Journal*, for the custom has puzzled me a great deal and I should like to know the reason for it.

The editors of the *Journal* know of no religious significance behind this old custom. If some of our readers do, we shall be glad to have them explain it to us, or they may write direct to Dr. Percival Bailey, College of Medicine, University of Illinois, Chicago (12), Illinois.



The International Harvester Company had a large exhibition in Chicago from October 18 to November 2 to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the building of Cyrus Hall McCormick's first reaper factory in Chicago. This later became the International Harvester Company. On a ten-acre site along Chicago's lake front adjoining Soldier Field, large tents were erected to house the exhibits. In the open areas, the latest models of farm machinery were displayed.



This has been a festive year for Nauvoo. In July, Mormons celebrated the centennial of their exodus from the city to Utah. Elaborate ceremonies were held at that time, and a caravan of cars, decorated to resemble the covered wagons of the original exodus, began the trek to Utah. On September 12 to 14, the tenth annual Nauvoo Grape Festival was held. Noted also for its famous blue cheese, the city featured a pageant, "The Wedding of the Wine and Cheese." Only at Roquefort, France, and Nauvoo may this ceremony be seen. Throughout the three-day festival a gala, carnival spirit prevailed.



The Manitoba Historical Society announces a fellowship of \$2,000 (Canadian funds) for a study of the social history of some racial group within the Province of Manitoba. This fellowship is open to all applicants who have an M. A. degree, its equivalent, or other qualifications acceptable to the Committee of Selection. Requests for information

should be addressed to the Secretary, Professor W. L. Morton, Department of History, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba.



To commemorate the Swedish Pioneer Centennial in 1948, the Swedish American Line is sponsoring an essay contest on the influence of Swedish settlers on a community or region. Free trips to Scandinavia and generous cash prizes are to be awarded. Inquiries concerning the contest should be addressed to: Contest Editor, Swedish American Line, 636 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, N.Y. The contest closes on April 1, 1948.



In August, the Aurora Historical Society sponsored an exhibition of water colors depicting historical landmarks of Aurora and vicinity. The Society also presented a musical program for the nineteenth annual Old Settlers' Reunion in Phillips Park. A. J. Meiers, president of the Society, was chairman of the program committee.

An intensive drive is being conducted under the chairmanship of Mrs. Ward Downs, to raise \$10,000 for the support of the Society's museum.



The Boone County Historical Society opened its fall program in September with a historical quiz program prepared by Mrs. Fred Warren and Mrs. John Oberholser. In October, Mrs. Warren Lampert and Mrs. Thomas Beckington presented a study of the Scotch settlement at Argyle.



The Bureau County Board of Supervisors voted in September to appropriate cash from the general fund to help the Bureau County Historical Society maintain its new home in the former residence of Mrs. Grace Norris. Permission to do this rests in a law passed by the last General Assembly granting counties the right to levy taxes for maintenance of historical museums. It is estimated that the Society will receive about \$1,300 annually for this purpose. In addition, the Society began a drive for \$10,000 on October 15. Certain alterations are necessary in the Norris residence to adapt it for museum purposes and cash is urgently needed.



The Cahokia Historical Society held its annual picnic supper and opera party in Forest Park, St. Louis, on August 26. After supper the

members attended a production of *Show Boat* by the municipal opera company.



The deed to the land on which stood Chicago's first city hall has been presented to the Chicago Historical Society by the Chicago Title and Trust Company. The deed was recorded in 1835.

On October 10, the Society replaced the Chicago Portage Marker which had been stolen from the boulder on which it had been mounted. This marker identifies the west end of the ancient portage between the Des Plaines and the Chicago rivers. The Rev. Jean Delanglez was guest speaker with the topic "The Importance of the Chicago Portage in Chicago History."



The Lawndale-Crawford (Chicago) Historical Association held its fourteenth annual meeting on October 30. Larned Meacham, president of the Society, related some of his experiences with Alexander Graham Bell with whom he was at one time associated.



At a meeting on October 17 of the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society, Dr. Otto Eisenschiml described what took place at the recent opening of the Lincoln papers at the Library of Congress.

Officers of the Society are: Lois Bergh, president; J. C. Miller, first vice-president; Albert F. Keeney, second vice-president; Bernard Baer, third vice-president; Helen S. Babcock, fourth vice-president; Marie Tofft, treasurer; and Mrs. Gertrude Jenkins, secretary-historian. On the Board of Trustees are: Charles Betlage, Walter Buescher, John Butler, Charles X. Clancy, W. W. Cohn, Dr. Otto Eisenschiml, Mrs. Gustav Ernsting, Signe Hoff, Robert C. Jamieson, Homer D. Jones, George P. Madigan, A. A. Marquart, Hobart H. Sommers, and Carl Stockholm.



Miss Marion Bragdon presented a program, "The World's Fair of 1893 in Woodlawn's Front Yard," at the fall meeting of the Woodlawn (Chicago) Historical Society. Miss Bragdon showed slides depicting scenes of the famous fair. George Fleming, vice-president, presided at the meeting.

At the October meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society, P. C. Walters discussed "Court Houses of Edwards County." A tour of historic spots was held on the last Sunday in October. Places within easy driving distance of Albion were visited.



At a picnic and business meeting early in August the following officers of the Glencoe Historical Society were chosen: Mrs. Harry T. Booth, president; Mrs. George J. Pope, vice-president; Mrs. John A. Grant, secretary; E. P. S. Wright, treasurer. Committee chairmen are: Miss Helen Beckwith, Miss Flo Bowman, Mrs. Charles A. Saxby, Fred L. Holmes, Mrs. Louis H. Hein, and Christopher K. Beebe. Following the business session a quiz program was held.



Among recent acquisitions of the McLean County Historical Society is a petition signed by over one thousand residents requesting an ordinance prohibiting the sale of liquor in Normal. The petition is dated in November, 1866.



Edwin Davis talked on "The Early Mills of Macon County" at the quarterly meeting of the Macon County Historical Society in September. Mr. Davis lives in Long Creek Township and his ancestors were among the first settlers in the county.



The Madison County Historical Society held its twenty-sixth annual meeting in October at the Unitarian Church in Alton. John W. Allen spoke on "Historical River Spots."

The Edwardsville chapter of the Madison County Historical Society took a bus trip late in July to visit important places of interest. In October, the chapter excavated an Indian mound as part of the organization's study of local history.



On Sunday, September 28, nearly fifty persons participated in the Mattoon Historical Society's first organized tour. Historic sites in southwestern Coles County were visited. Alex Summers, secretary of the Society, had charge of the tour, and Clarence W. Bell and Joseph Sawyer,

direct descendants of pioneers of Lincoln's time, gave the historical background of the sites visited. J. E. Russell was in charge of transportation.

At the Society's October meeting, Jack E. Horsley discussed the early legal history of Mattoon and Coles County. New officers of the Society elected at this meeting are: Alex Summers, president; R. Harvey Wright, treasurer; and Mrs. Charles H. Stinson, secretary. The directors were all re-elected.



On October 5, in the village of Norway, the annual meeting of the Norwegian Historical Society known as the "Sloopers" was held. John Lindrop was the principal speaker. Captain J. M. Johnson of Chicago is president of the organization.



Thomas Doane spoke at the October meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society. His topic was "Glimpses of Historic New England."



Fred D. Sommer spoke to the Peoria Historical Society in October on "Octave Chanute, the Engineer." After the meeting the Society voted to go on record as favoring the name of Octave Chanute for the new Harvard Street bridge and its adjacent highway.



After a lapse of five years, the Peoria County Old Settlers and Historical Association held its eightieth anniversary picnic on August 27. An attendance of approximately three thousand heard Brigadier General William J. Flood deliver the principal address of the afternoon. David B. Owen spoke at the flag raising ceremonies at noon and Thomas Endsley spoke at the memorial service for departed members. Singing, dancing and a variety of contests enlivened the day.



The Stephenson County Historical Society's board of directors met on September 12. New appointments were announced by Mrs. J. Roy Nesbit. Mrs. Charles W. Furst is program chairman, Miss Carrie Freidag is in charge of historical research, and Mrs. Howard K. Hill is to arrange for collections and exhibits. Persons desiring to join the Society should see Mrs. Carl H. Neyhart, membership chairman or Philip L. Keister, secretary.

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford entertained Dr. Anton J. Carlson at a dinner on the evening of October 16 at Sweden House. Dr. Carlson had been on the program of the Winnebago County Teachers' Institute where he spoke at both the morning and afternoon sessions.



Herbert B. Mulford, chairman of the Wilmette Historical Project, has outlined an extensive ten-point program to stimulate historical interest into tangible results for the village of Wilmette. The plan includes the founding of a Wilmette Historical Museum, the placing of significant historical markers, and the writing of a definitive history of the village.



A drive along the Illinois River was enjoyed by the Winnetka Historical Society on Saturday, October 4. Leaving Winnetka at 7:45 A.M. the party ate a picnic luncheon at Starved Rock. Supper was served in a private dining room in the Hotel Baker at St. Charles. Guilford R. Windes was in charge of reservations for the trip.

At the meeting on October 22, Chief A. Roi Clearwater, grandson of the Potawatomi chief Big Foot, was the guest speaker. Chief Clearwater appeared in tribal costume and spoke on the Potawatomi. His talk was entitled "How They Came and Why They Left This Area."



The Illinois State Historical Library is indeed grateful to its friends who have donated family histories in recent months. These books are particularly welcome since many of the Library's patrons are interested in genealogy. In appreciation of these gifts, we are listing below the names of donors who presented us with genealogies between October 1, 1946, and September 30, 1947.

Robert G. Bailey, Lewiston, Idaho, for Bailey, *The Virginia Bailey Genealogy Together With Related Families*.

Mrs. S. E. Bradt, DeKalb, Ill., for Bradt, *Ancestors and Descendants of Samuel E. Bradt and Bertha Glidden Bradt*.

Scott Francis Brenner, Reading, Pa., for Brenner, *The Brenner Family*.

Lincoln C. Cocheu, New York, N. Y., for Cocheu, *The Cocheu Family and The Couenbovens and Kinsfolk*.

Mrs. Jacob A. Evans, Memphis, Tenn., for American Historical Company, *Evans and Allied Families*.

Earl L. Heverly, Chicago, for Mears, *A History of the Heverly Family*.

B. W. Hilgard, Belleville, Ill., for The Englemann Cemetery Association, "The Englemann Family in the United States with some Historical Background." (Mimeographed)

Mrs. Charles W. Howes, Quincy, Mass., for Howes, *Ancestors and Descendants of Joseph Couch and Deborah Adams and Descendants of John and Mary Howes of Montgomery County, Maryland*.

Hubert A. Howson, Bronxville, N. Y., for Abbe and Howson, *Robert Colgate the Immigrant. A Genealogy of the New York Colgates and Some Associated Lines*.

Alfred Averell Knapp, Peoria, Ill., for Knapp, *Some of the Descendants of Robert and Jane () McCune of Bourbon and Nicholas County, Kentucky*.

Virginia M. McComb, Chambersburg, Pa., for McComb, *A Genealogical Register of the McComb Family in America and Kemper Records (1946) A Supplement to the Kemper Family (1899)*.

Mrs. Marshall Martin, Weston, Ga., for Martin, *Our Nation Builders*.

Mary Allen Phinney, Seattle, Wash., for Phinney, *Allen-Isbam Genealogy*.

Mrs. Laura Guthrie Preston, Marietta, Ohio, for Preston, *The Curtis Family. A Record of Some of the Descendants of Deodatus Curtis of Braintree, Massachusetts*.

Mrs. Olive Barrick Rowland, Petersburg, Va., for Rowland, *An Ancestral Chart and Handbook, Genealogical Notes of the Sutton and Rittenhouse Families*.

Mrs. W. H. Rudder, Salem, Ind., for Rudder, *My Father's Family. Douglas-Haden-Churchill . . . Attkisson and Allied Families*.

Walter R. Sanders, Litchfield, Ill., for Sanders, "The Shipp Genealogy." (Mimeographed)

Mrs. W. C. Shepard, Allison, Iowa, for Shepard, *The Loomer Family Ancestry of Addie E. Loomer, Shepard and her Descendants*.

E. D. Stanley, Crawford, N. J., for Stanley, *Revision to 1946 of the First Supplement to the Thomas Stanley Section of the "Stanley Families in America," by Israel P. Warren-1887*.

Halsey Stevens, Los Angeles, for Stevens, "Merritt Family Records." (Mimeographed)

Robert A. Van Der Pyl, Great Lakes, Ill., for Van Der Pyl, *The Family of Van Der Pyl in America*.

Warren National Bank, Warren, Pa., for Horton, *The Ancestors and Descendants of Isaac Horton of Liberty, N. Y.*

Charles S. Wegman, Reading, Pa., for Wegman, *History of the Wegman Families, or The Genealogy of the Wegmans*.

Charles B. Welch, Tacoma, Wash., for Welch, *Descendants of James Welch, Soldier in King Philip's War, 1675-76.*

Myrtle Weniger, Corvallis, Ore., for Weniger, *The Gaumer Family and Allied Lines.*

I. Newton Williams, Belmar, N. J., for Williams, *The Rogers-Turfler Family. A Search for Ancestors.*

Stephen A. Woodruff, Chicago, for Woodruff, *A Branch of the Woodruff Family from John Woodruffe.* . . .



In the last issue of this *Journal*, a list of people who joined the Society during April, May, and June was printed. The following list includes new members enrolled during July, August, and September:

Alden, Marvin O.	Rockford, Ill.	Gusler, Howard	Elgin, Ill.
Armstrong, Blair	Elmwood, Ill.	Guymon, Robert	Springfield, Ill.
Barnes, George Z.	Peoria, Ill.	Haddock, T. J.	Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Barnes, Mrs. Lizzie	Carmi, Ill.	Haverlin, Carl	Bronxville, N. Y.
Barthold, William H.	Peoria, Ill.	Hay, M. L.	Kewance, Ill.
Bartley, Joseph F.	Peoria, Ill.	Herget, Roscoe	Peoria, Ill.
Beckman, J. Colby	Petersburg, Ill.	Herschel, Paul E., Jr.	Peoria, Ill.
Beverly, James E., Jr.	Chicago, Ill.	Hull, Mrs. W. E.	Peoria, Ill.
Billington, Ray A.	Evanston, Ill.	Hyde, Rev. Henry Neal	Peoria, Ill.
Blomberg, Dr. T. E.	Rockford, Ill.	Isaacs, T. R.	Havana, Ill.
Boekenhoff, Mrs. R., Sr.	Quincy, Ill.	Jobst, Val, Jr.	Peoria, Ill.
Bolton, J. Walter	Glendale, Calif.	Johnson, James B.	Alton, Ill.
Bourland, Dr. Robert C.	Rockford, Ill.	Jones, Lucy M.	Alton, Ill.
Brandt, Etta	Carmi, Ill.	Jones, Mary Ellen	South Gate, Calif.
Brisch, Thomas L.	Forest Park, Ill.	Kelly, Major Oliver H.	Fort Belvoir, Va.
Brown, Mrs. O. J.	Paris, Ill.	Land, Mrs. Chalon T.	Enfield, Ill.
Buerkin, Augusta M.	Quincy, Ill.	Lantz, Philip King	Shelbyville, Ill.
Burgess, Lera Z.	Canton, Ill.	Lippincott, Mr. & Mrs. L.	Sullivan, Ill.
Burris, Marshall J.	Taylorville, Ill.	Luthy, George L.	Peoria, Ill.
Byars, Fielding L.	Peoria Heights, Ill.	McConnell, Ralph R.	Bloomington, Ill.
Cannon, Charles B.	Chicago, Ill.	Miller, Mrs. Lillie Mae	East Moline, Ill.
Challacombe, James	Oak Hill, Ill.	Moore, Edward J.	Chicago, Ill.
Chase, Fred D.	East Moline, Ill.	Morgan, Harry D.	Peoria, Ill.
Clark, Robert K.	Peoria, Ill.	Morrow, Phineas	Geneseo, Ill.
Colby, William D.	Kewance, Ill.	Munch, Amos L.	Lovington, Ill.
Craig, E. C.	Chicago, Ill.	Neumiller, Louis B.	Peoria, Ill.
Dagey, Mrs. Charles T.	Quincy, Ill.	Nickel, Francis D.	Chicago, Ill.
Daignault, W. E.	Chicago, Ill.	Oakford, A. W.	Peoria, Ill.
Edlund, Lawrence L.	Chicago, Ill.	Owens, W. H.	Champaign, Ill.
Essex, Rt. Rev. William L.	Peoria, Ill.	Paul, Fred	Chicago, Ill.
Fling, John W., Jr.	Wyoming, Ill.	Pomeroy, J. M.	Carmi, Ill.
Frink, Oliver	Chicago, Ill.	Rinaker, Samuel M.	Lake Forest, Ill.
Gallagher, Earl E.	Chicago, Ill.		
Gorman, Howard J.	Peoria, Ill.		
Gregory, Mrs. C. M.	Orange, Calif.		
Grieser, Mrs. Hattie E.	Quincy, Ill.		

Roszell, Lyle W.....	Peoria, Ill.	Tinan, John F.....	Peoria, Ill.
Salm, C. F.....	Peoria, Ill.	Trautwein, Mrs. J. F.....	Dixon, Ill.
Scully, J. C.....	Peoria, Ill.	Trickett, Dean.....	Tulsa, Okla.
Seybold, Ethel.....	Jacksonville, Ill.	Triebel, Carl O.....	Peoria, Ill.
Shuman, Mr. & Mrs. Charles B.....		Webber, Charles R.....	Baltimore, Md.
.....	Sullivan, Ill.	White, Herbert B.....	Peoria, Ill.
Skoglund, Henry L.....	Evanston, Ill.	White, William C.....	Peoria, Ill.
Smith, Hulah B.....	Champaign, Ill.	Wood, Homer L.....	Oakland, Calif.
Stephens, Reid.....	Oak Park, Ill.	Woodcock, Walter T.....	Rockford, Ill.
Stobbs, Mrs. Frank J.....	Alton, Ill.	Younge, Jacob.....	Peoria, Ill.
Tasher, Lucy Lucile.....	Normal, Ill.	Zobrist, Benedict K.....	Moline, Ill.
Terry, James H.....	Geneseo, Ill.		

CONTRIBUTORS

David Donald is Instructor of History at Columbia University. He received his doctorate from the University of Illinois in 1946, where the subject of his thesis was, "Herndon: Lincoln's Law Partner." Much of the research in connection with this article was performed during his tenure as Fellow of the Social Science Research Council. . . . Ray A. Billington is Professor of History at Northwestern University. He is author of *The Protestant Crusade*, and a contributor to various historical publications. . . . Joseph Earl Arrington, a former resident of Illinois, is particularly interested in Nauvoo of the Mormon era. He is preparing a volume on the history of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo and invites correspondence from anyone having source materials on the subject. His address is 8929 188th Street, Hollis 7, Long Island, N.Y. . . . Miss Louella Bonser of Pana, Illinois, is a sister of the late Dr. Frederick G. Bonser. She is also the author of the *History of Mt. Victory School District, Tower Hill Township, Shelby County, Illinois*. . . . Miss Ida L. Bale has lived all her life in the New Salem neighborhood and is the author of *New Salem as I Knew It*, published in Petersburg in 1939, and of the article "Three Generations of New Salem Pioneers," in the December, 1944, issue of this *Journal*. . . . Ruth Hardin is cataloger of Lincolniana in the Illinois State Historical Library.



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